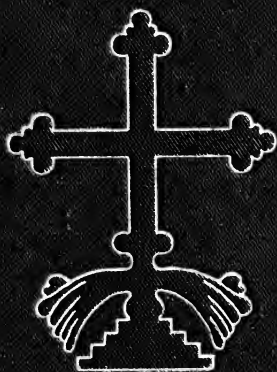


UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE LESSER EASTERN CHURCHES



ADRIAN FORTESCUE

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THE LESSER EASTERN
CHURCHES

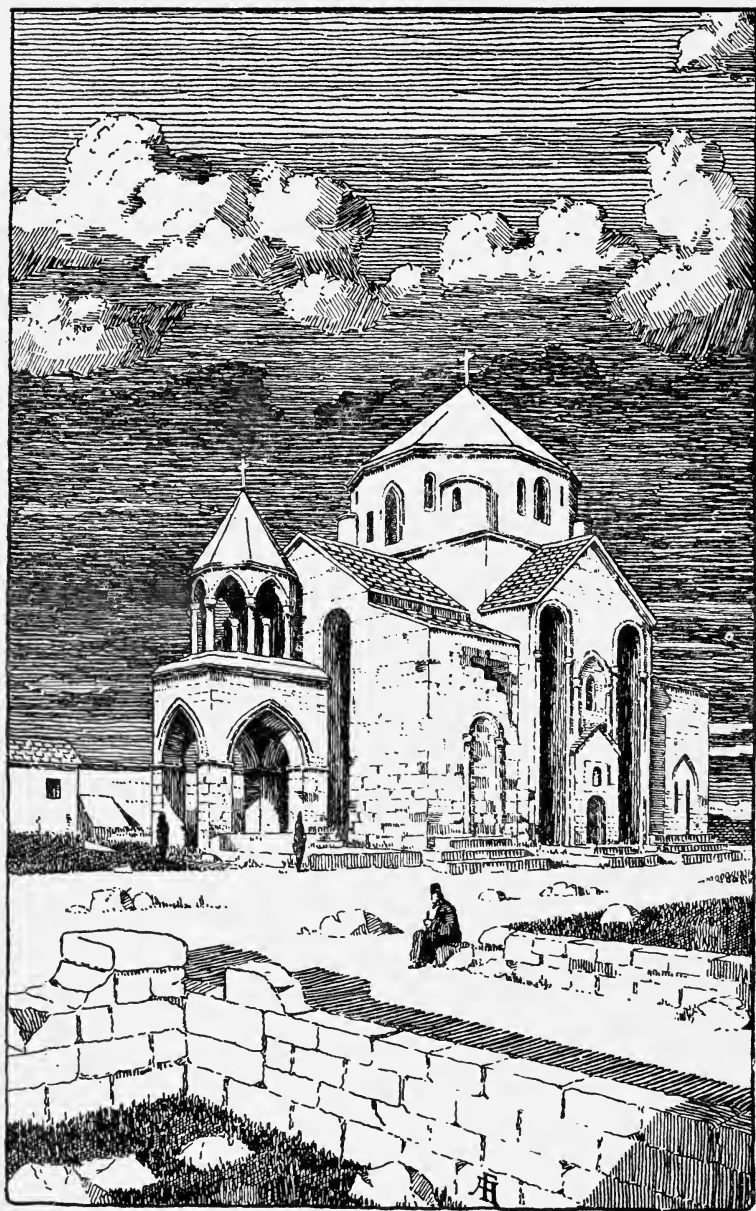
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SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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CHURCH OF ST. HRIPSIME AT ETSHMIADZIN.

[Frontispiece

THE LESSER EASTERN CHURCHES

BY
ADRIAN FORTESCUE, PH.D., D.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON : CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY
69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, S.E. - 1913

Ἑκτορι μὲν καὶ Τρωσὶ τὸ κέρδιον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς
δηρὸν ἐμῆς καὶ σῆς ἔριδος μνήσσεσθαι οἴω.
Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι εἴσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον δαμάσαντες ἀνάγκη.

ILIAD, xix. 63-66.

AUG 27 1955

PREFACE

THIS book forms a continuation, or second part, of *The Orthodox Eastern Church* by the same author.¹ Its object is to describe the lesser separated Eastern Churches in the same way as that described the greatest. "Greatest" and "lesser," by the way, are only meant to qualify their size. No opinion is thereby expressed as to their relative merit (see p. 446).

There is a difference in the subject of this volume, which affects its treatment. These smaller Churches are much less known. There is a vast literature on the Orthodox Church, so that the only difficulty in writing the former book was that of selection and arrangement. Moreover, Orthodox official documents and service-books (at least in their original form) are in Greek, which it is no great merit to know. Much of the matter treated here is rather of the nature of a land, if not unknown, at least difficult of access. There is far less information to be had about the other Eastern Churches. And their native literature is contained in many difficult tongues. So to write this book was a much more arduous task, and the result may be less satisfactory. On the other hand, it has the advantage of greater originality. Concerning the Orthodox I said nothing which could not be found fairly easily in European books already. Here I think I have been able, in certain points, to bring what will be new to anyone who has not made some study of Eastern matters and languages. Part of this is gathered from notes made by myself in their lands, interviews with prelates and clergy of these rites, observations of their services, and information supplied by friends in those parts.

As for literary sources, I have, of course, read many books on

¹ London : Catholic Truth Society, 3rd edition, 1911.

Eastern Churches by modern writers. But, as will be seen from my references, I have compiled my own book, as far as I could, from original sources. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that all my quotations are at firsthand. Where I refer to Al-Makrizi, Severus of Al-Ushmunain, Shahrastani, Barhebræus, and so on, I have gathered my information from their works. Only in the case of Armenian books am I unable, through ignorance of the language, to consult any. Fortunately, Langlois' collection of Armenian historians in a French version to some extent compensates for this.

One of the great practical difficulties was how to spell proper names. Without any wish to parade scientific transliteration, it seems nevertheless clear that one must have some system for writing names from so many languages, at least enough system to spell the same name always in the same way. The most obvious suggestion would perhaps seem to be to spell each name in the usual, familiar way. As far as there is such a way this plan has been adopted. Names which have a recognized English form, such as John, Peter, Gregory, are left in this form. So also when the Latin form seems universally familiar in English—Athanasius, Epiphanius. But there are many names which have no recognized spelling. Nothing can make such as Badr alġamālī, Hnanyēšu', Mšihāzkâ, Sbaryēšu' look familiar to an English reader. The old-fashioned way was to make the nearest attempt one could at representing the sound of these names, according to the use of the Roman letters in the language in which the book is written. This has many inconveniences. First, to anyone who knows how such names are written in their own letters it is as irritating as to see a well-known French writer called "Bwalo." Secondly, the Roman letters represent different sounds in different languages. A German writes "Dschar," an Italian "Giafar," a Frenchman "Djafar" for the same name. In English, particularly, the same letter represents often a multitude of sounds. "Ptough," used in the translation of Ormanian's book,¹ represents no particular sound to an Englishman. Thirdly, Semitic languages have letters of which the sound cannot be even approximately indicated by any combination of ours. And,

¹ *The Church of Armenia* (Mowbray, 1912), p. 148.

lastly, the same names are pronounced differently in different places. East and West Syriac, Egyptian and Syrian Arabic, have notable differences of pronunciation.

The only reasonable course, then, seems to be transliteration into conventional combinations, which always represent, not the same *sounds*, but the same *letters* of the original alphabet. Then anyone who knows the language can put the word back into its own letters. He who does not will be puzzled as to how it should be pronounced ; but this is the case always when we do not know the language in question. Now, the first principle of exact transliteration is to use one Roman letter for one letter of the original alphabet. The reason of this is plain. In English we use combinations of letters to represent one sound, such as *sh*, *th*, *ph*. In Semitic languages (and Coptic and Armenian) these sounds have each one letter. But the two separate sounds may also follow one another, each represented by its own letter (as in *mishap*, *anthill*, *uphill*). If, then, we use several letters for one sound, how are we to write these ? Supposing, then, this essential principle of one letter for one letter, it follows (since we have not nearly enough Roman letters to go round) that we must differentiate them by various dots and dashes. This is not pretty, and it gives trouble to the printer ; but it is the only way of saving the principle, that anyone who knows the original letters may be able to put words back into them with ambiguity. As a matter of fact, there is a system, already very commonly accepted, at least in scientific books, by which this may be done. It is simple and easily remembered. Shortly, it comes to this : for our *sh* sound (in “ shop ”) use *š*, with a wedge above : ¹ for the softened Semitic “ begadkefath ” letters put a line below ; for “ emphatic ” letters (*ḥ*, *ṣ*, *ḏ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *ḵ* ²) put a point below ; for Arabic *ġim* put a dash above. The strong Arabic guttural *ḥā* has a curve below. ‘*Ain* is ‘ ; and the stronger Arabic form of the same sound ġ (*ġain*). *Hamza*, when wanted, is ‘. ³ Consonantic *i* and *u* are *y* and *w*. In

¹ This form is borrowed from Czech.

² *ḵ* is better than *q*, since it applies to the *ḵ* sound the same difference for its emphatic form as have the other emphatic letters.

³ The signs ‘ and ’ are chosen arbitrarily to represent sounds for which we have no equivalent. All that can be said for them is that printers have them in their founts, and that they will do as well as any other arbitrary

this way all possible sounds may be represented, each by one symbol. In the manuscript of this book, despairing of the inconsistencies of other systems, I first adopted this one throughout. To Semitic languages it can be applied easily and regularly. Coptic has Greek letters, except seven, which may be represented by similar differentiation. In Armenian, too, I found how the names which occur are spelled in their own letters, and so transliterated them on the same plan, differentiating by the accepted points and dashes. Then, on reading the manuscript again, I saw more clearly the difficulties of the plan. It involves very considerable labour to printers. Also, in a merely popular book, perhaps such exactness is superfluous. It demands much of the reader of such a book as this. He would have to learn that *t* with a bar beneath it is our *th*, that *p* with a bar is our *f*, and so on. So I have changed most of the spellings back to an easier form. *ph* is always superfluous, since we have *f*. But I have restored *sh* and *th*, dropping the principle of one letter for one letter. Even the ugly *kh* appears sometimes for the third (strongest) Arabic *ḫ* sound. But I have kept the point beneath for the emphatic letters. One must make some difference between “*ḳalb*,” which means a heart, and “*kalb*,” a dog. I have left *ai* and *au* for diphthongs.¹ Syriac doubled letters are generally not marked. Since their theoretic *tashdīd* is neither written nor (at least in Western Syriac) pronounced, it seems superfluous to note it.² So with this rather unsatisfactory compromise I leave the proper names, with the hope that they will not too much irritate anyone who knows how they are spelled in their own characters, and that he will excuse the compromise, considering how difficult it is to carry out a consistent plan in this matter.

symbols. The latest plan (in Germany) is to use a figure like a 3 turned the wrong way for ‘*Ain* (suggested by the shape of the Arabic letter). This has advantages. It looks more like a real, whole letter (which of course ‘*Ain* is); and its strong form can be made, according to the general rule, by a point under it. But its use means casting a special type.

¹ *Ay* and *aw* are right, but look odd.

² Of the softened “*begadkefath*” letters, *p* becomes *f* and *t* becomes *th*. The softening of *b*, *g*, *d*, and *k* is not noted. *v* looks too odd, *kh* suggests rather another letter (Hebrew *Heih*). *bh*, *gh*, *dh* do not suggest any particular sound to an English reader. After all, Greek *β*, *γ*, *δ* are softened too, yet we do not mark the softening.

In so great a mass of details I cannot hope that there are no inaccuracies. But I have taken pains to verify statements, especially about modern practice, and I think I have given my authority for everything.

For information about what is now done and believed in these Churches I am indebted to many people, to their own clergy and Catholic missionaries. More than to anyone else I owe thanks to the French Jesuit Fathers at Beirut. To their guest they were the kindest and most hospitable of hosts, in their "Faculté orientale" most capable teachers. Since my return to England they have kept up cordial relations, and have always answered the many questions I have sent them. In answering these questions, and in procuring photographs for illustration, Father Louis Jalabert, S.J., has been more than kind. To him and to his colleagues in Syria every Catholic must wish God-speed in the work of educating and converting Eastern Christians, undertaken by them according to the noble tradition of their nation and their order.

I have also to thank the Rev. Dr. W. A. Wigram and the Rev. F. N. Heazell, of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians, for corrections and photographs of Mâr Shim'un and Ɣudshanis; also Mr K. N. Daniel, editor of the *Malankara Sabha Tharaka* paper at Kottayam, for information contained in the paragraph at pp. 368-375.

There is no bibliography in this volume. Most books on these Churches treat also of matters which concern the Uniates. Rather than repeat the same titles in both volumes, it seems convenient to reserve them for the next, which will be the last of the series. In it there will be a fairly complete list of books on all these lesser Churches.

And, lastly, I hope that nothing in this book will seem to argue anything but sympathy for the people who, isolated for centuries, have still kept faithful to the name of Christ; sympathy and regret for the lamentable schisms which are not so much their fault as those of their fathers, Bar Şaumâ, Dioscor, Baradai, in the distant 5th and 6th centuries.

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PART I

THE NESTORIANS

CHAPTER I

OF THE LESSER EASTERN CHURCHES IN GENERAL

THE Orthodox Church is considerably the largest in the East. But it is by no means the only Eastern Church. The idea, which one still sometimes finds among Protestants, of one vast "Eastern Church," united in the same primitive faith, knowing nothing, never having known anything, of the Papacy, is the crudest fiction. There neither is nor ever has been such a body. Eastern Christendom is riddled with sects, heresies and schisms, almost as much as the West. In the East, too, if you look for unity you will find it only among those who acknowledge the Pope.¹ This, then, is the first thing to realize clearly. There are, besides the Orthodox Church, other Eastern Churches, which are no more in communion with her than they are with us. To the Orthodox Christian an Armenian, a Copt, a Jacobite is just as much a heretic and a schismatic as a Latin or a Protestant. Though no other Eastern Church can be compared to the Orthodox for size, nevertheless at least some of them (that of the Armenians, for instance) are large and important bodies. This book treats of these other separated Eastern Churches. Their situation is not difficult to grasp. All spring from the two great heresies of the 5th century, Nestorianism, condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431, and its extreme opposite, Monophysism, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. These two heresies account for all the other separated Eastern Churches, besides the

¹ Even the Orthodox Church itself (which is what these people probably really mean by the "Eastern Church") is torn by schisms, as has been shown in the former book.

Orthodox. Arianism was for a long time the religion of various barbarous races (the Goths, for instance), but it died out many centuries ago. There is now no Arian Church. The Pelagian heresy never formed an organized Church. Manichæism made communities which afterwards disappeared. It is one side of a very great movement that produced all manner of curious sects in East and West till far into the Middle Ages—Bogomils, Paulicians, Albigensians, Bonshommes, and so on. All these too have practically disappeared, though in the West (Bohemia) the last remnant of this movement may have had something to do with the beginning of the Reformation. In the East, the Paulicians and Bogomils had a rather important history. But they too disappeared.¹ Monotheletism formed a Church which has long returned to the Catholic faith, and is now the one example of an entirely Uniate body, having no schismatical counterpart.

So all existing separated Eastern Churches, other than the Orthodox, are either Nestorian or Monophysite. So far the situation is simple. Now enters another factor of enormous importance, at any rate to Catholics. At various times certain members, sometimes bishops and Patriarchs, of these three main classes of Eastern Churches (Orthodox, Nestorians, Monophysites) have repented of their state of schism from the Roman See and have come back to reunion. These are the Uniates, who will be discussed in a future volume.

All the people of this volume are heretics² and schismatics. These are harsh words, which one uses unwillingly of pious and God-fearing Christians. But we must be clear on this point. It is, of course, true inevitably from the Catholic point of view. And they too, equally logically from their point of view, say that we are heretics and schismatics. Indeed, we are a very bad kind of heretic. We are Creed-tamperers, Papolaters, gross disturbers of the peace by our shameless way of sending missionaries who compass the land and the sea to make one proselyte. We understand all that, and like them the better for being consistent. But

¹ There will be a short appendix about the Paulicians at the end of the volume on the Uniates.

² We shall see in each case how far they can be accused justly of keeping the particular heresies of their origin. In any case, all are heretics in regard to the Primacy, and other dogmas too.

they should also understand our attitude : we stand for our own position, on either side, and there is no malice. Secondly, they are equally heretical and schismatical from the point of view of the Orthodox, and, with the qualifications to be noted hereafter, each of them looks upon the others as heretical and schismatical. There is, then, theologically, no common unity between these Churches, except as much as exists necessarily among all Christians. They are not, theologically, nearer to the Orthodox or to each other than they are to the Catholic Church. The entire conversion and reunion of one group would not affect the others. Yet there are some points in which all together do form one group. Before we come to these points let us be clear about who all these people are. It is not difficult to grasp. We have said that all are either Nestorian or Monophysite. That gives us at once a great division into two main groups. Theologically, these groups are diametrically opposed to each other ; they are poles apart. Nestorianism divides Christ into two persons, Monophysism confuses him into one nature. Each feels, or ought to feel (for it is a question how far these old controversies are now realized by any of them), nearer to us and to the Orthodox than to the other main group : and each accuses us (and the Orthodox) of the rival heresy. The Nestorian (at any rate in the days when these were burning questions) thought us to be practically Monophysites ; the Monophysite abhorred our theology as being infected with the poison of Nestorius. An alliance between them against us (there have been cases of something like it) is as curious a spectacle as the alliance of Claverhouse and the Cameronians in Scotland against William III.

Our first group, Nestorian, now contains two Churches. First we have the body called the *Nestorian Church*, a very small sect on either side of the Turkish-Persian frontier, having a long and glorious history. This comes naturally first in our account, as being the oldest existing schismatical Church. It once had very extensive missions. One remnant of these missions remains along the south-western (*Malabar*) coast of India. It might seem most natural to place the Church of Malabar immediately after the Nestorians, as belonging to them. But the Malabar people were separated for many centuries from their Mother

Church ; meanwhile, by an astonishing revulsion, they had dealings with Monophysites. Now (apart, of course, from the Uniates) they are mostly Monophysites. So it seems best to leave them to the last, as a kind of cross between both groups. But in origin they are Nestorian.

We come to the second group, which contains all the others. All lesser Eastern Churches except the Nestorians and (originally) the Malabar people ¹ are Monophysites. The Monophysite heresy was a much greater and more disastrous thing than that of Nestorius. It became the national religion of Egypt and Syria, and was then, apparently rather by accident, adopted by the Armenians. So we have three great Monophysite Churches, in Egypt, Syria and Armenia. To these we must add a fourth, the Church of Abyssinia, always the disciple and daughter of Egypt. These four complete our list of minor schismatical Eastern Churches. In Egypt we have the *Copts*. They come first because Egypt was the original and always the chief home of the heresy. Next we place the daughter Church of Egypt in *Abyssinia* or Ethiopia. Then follows the Syrian national Church, commonly called *Jacobite*, closely allied to the Copts. To them we must now add the Malabar Christians. Lastly, the *Armenians*, whose history stands rather apart. A table of the Churches described in this book will make their position and mutual relation clear :

<i>Nestorian :</i>	The Nestorian Church. Originally the Church of Malabar.
<i>Monophysite :</i>	The Coptic Church in Egypt. The Abyssinian or Ethiopic Church. The Jacobite Church in Syria. Most of the modern Church of Malabar. The Armenian Church.

The next point to justify is the use of the names we use for these sects. In some cases, at any rate, the body in question is called by various names ; it is well to be clear as to what we mean by the ones we use and why we prefer them to others. Now, the

¹ Except also, obviously, the Uniates.

first general principle about the name for anything at all is to follow common use. We speak in order to be understood. A name is only a label ; as long as there is no doubt as to the thing labelled, it does not much matter which it is. Secondly, no reasonable man wants to call any body or institution by a gratuitously offensive name. It is the most childish idea that you gain anything merely by calling people ugly names. It follows then that, whatever you may think about an institution, you should, as a general rule, call it by its own name for itself. This becomes, of course, merely a technical label ; no one thinks that you mean really to concede what the name may imply.

In the case of the Churches here described we have this result :—The *Nestorians* must be so called. It is the name used universally for them since the fifth century. They do not resent it in the least. They glory in the memory of the Blessed Nestorius, and they use it for themselves.¹ A fashion is growing up among their Anglican friends of avoiding the word because (it is alleged) they do not really hold the heresy associated with Nestorius's name, nor were they founded by him. As for the heresy, it is now urged that Nestorius himself did not teach it ; so the name need not in any case connote any theory about our Lord's personality. They do not admit that they were founded by Nestorius. Of course not. They claim that their religion was founded by Jesus Christ. So do all Christians. We can hardly call them Christians as a special name. What is certain is that they went into schism, broke with the rest of Christendom, as defenders of the theory condemned by Ephesus. And what other name are we to use ? Chaldee will not do. It is always used for the Uniates. People have tried "the Persian Church" ; "the Turkish Church" would be as good. Or the "East Syrian Church" : that is better ; but there are so many East Syrian Churches. Jacobites, Orthodox, Uniates of various kinds, all abound in East Syria, besides this one little sect. The favourite name now among their Anglican sympathizers seems to be "the Assyrian Church." This is the worst of all. They are Assyrians in no possible sense. They live in one corner of what was once the Assyrian Empire. Their land was also once covered by the Babylonian Empire.

¹ See p. 128.

Why not "the Babylonian Church"? As for descent, who can say what mixture of blood there is in any of the inhabitants of these lands? The only reason for giving the name of a race or a nation to a religious body is that the religion is or has been that of the race or nation. The Assyrian Empire came to an end centuries before Christ. No doubt the Nestorians have some of the blood of its old subjects, but so have equally all the other sects which abound in Mesopotamia. Why should this one little sect in its remote corner inherit the name of the whole mighty and long-vanished Empire? And, of course, "Assyrian Church" is emphatically not its old, accepted, or common name. It is a new fad of a handful of Anglicans. One sees a book called *The Doctrinal Position of the Assyrian Church*, and one wonders what Church can be meant—that of Asurbanipal?

Since we shall have to mention the Uniates already in this book, I add their names and the reason thereof at once. There is a Uniate Church corresponding to each separated one. What are we to call the Uniates who correspond to the Nestorians? "Catholic Nestorians" would be too absurd. Of course, these people are Nestorians in no possible sense. They abhor nothing so much as the impious heresy of the detestable Nestorius, although they agree in rite and in many customs with their heretical cousins. *Chaldee* and *Chaldean* are the names always used. They are not really particularly appropriate, but in this case we have the clinching reason of universal use. They always call themselves so; it is their official name at Rome. If you see a book with the title *Missale chaldaicum*, it is the book of their liturgy; if you hear of the "Patriarcha Babylonensis Chaldæorum," it is their Patriarch.

The general name *Monophysite* will not be disputed. It has constantly been used by Monophysites themselves; it expresses exactly their particular belief. In the old days they retorted by calling us Dyophysites. We should have no difficulty in admitting this name, were there any need for a new one for us. We are Dyophysites: we are also Dyotheletes and Monopropians. The *Copts* are so called without exception by friend and foe. The name is probably only an Arabic form of "Egyptian." What are we to call their Uniates? *Uniate Copts* is

correct and harmless. Only, now—what about the others? To call two bodies the Copts and the Uniate Copts is not good classification. It is like distinguishing between animals and reasonable animals. To make our terminology accurate we should have to say “Monophysite Copts” and “Uniate (or Catholic) Copts.” That is correct, but “Monophysite Copt” is rather cumbersome for constant use. So we may perhaps waive the point of logical classification. When we speak of the “Copts,” without epithet, everyone will understand us as meaning members of the national (Monophysite) Church of Egypt. Only now and then, when we want specially to distinguish them from the Uniates, we will add “Monophysite” or “Schismatical.” The Syrian Monophysites are the *Jacobites*. This is a very old name, from James (Ἰάκωβος, Ya’qub) Baradai, their chief founder. They do not appear to use it themselves; they call themselves simply “Syrians” or “Syrian Christians.” With the best will we cannot use these as their technical names. But all the people round call them Jacobites; so in this case we must, I think, use that name, apologizing to the worthy little sect if it hurts their feelings. Their Uniates are *Uniate Syrians*. This is again the recognized official name. The “Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum” is their chief, the “Ritus Syro-Antiochenus,” or “Syrus purus” their rite. The name Jacobite is sometimes also used for the Egyptian Monophysites.¹ There is no objection to this, except that we do not want it for them; “Copt” is sufficient. In this book, therefore (as commonly in all books), “Jacobite” means a Syrian Monophysite.

The name *Armenian Church* presents no difficulty: it is the National Church of that race. *Uniate Armenian* is clear enough too. But in this case the faulty classification is less innocent than that of the Copts. The Uniate Copts are a very small body. The Uniate Armenians are a large, flourishing and important part of the nation. Can we hand over the title “Armenian Church,” without qualification, to their adversaries? Certainly the Uniate would protest that his Church is at least also an Armenian Church; he would point out that one can be a good Armenian without being

¹ So Joseph Abudacnus: *Historia Iacobitarum seu Coptorum* (Leiden, 1740).

a Monophysite. As a matter of fact, there is an established epithet for the separated Armenians. It is a good example of what has been said about technical names. To distinguish them from the Uniates they are commonly called the *Gregorian Armenians*. This patently begs the whole question, as far as the real meaning of words goes. The name comes from St. Gregory the Illuminator, the honoured apostle of Armenia. Of course, the Uniates claim him too, and with reason. St. Gregory was not a Monophysite, he was certainly in union with Rome. Yet, since the name "Gregorian" is commonly given to the Monophysites, since it is always understood as meaning them, we will show that we are sensible people by using it of them. Plainly, we do not admit what it implies; but, once more, no one is ever expected to admit what any technical name implies. We have, then, the "Gregorian Armenian Church" and the "Uniate Armenians." Abyssinia and Ethiopia are names used almost indifferently¹ for the country south of Egypt ruled by the Negus. There is no difficulty about the name of his Church. It is the religion of practically the whole nation and only of that nation. So we speak indifferently of the *Abyssinian* or *Ethiopic* Church. For the very small number of Uniates here *Abyssinian* or *Ethiopic Uniate* will suffice. *Malabar* (as a noun or adjective) and *Malabar Uniate* are obvious names too, geographical and universally accepted. The people themselves have a legend that they were founded by the Apostle St. Thomas, and so call themselves *Christians of St. Thomas*—harmless, but unnecessary, since Malabar is enough.

We have seen that, theologically, there is no unity among these sects. On the other hand, from the point of view of Church history and archæology, all Eastern Churches, including the Orthodox, have something in common. There are, namely, certain ways of doing things, a certain general attitude of mind, even certain ideas, which in a broad sense we may call Eastern, common to all these, as opposed to Western customs and ideas.²

¹ But see p. 307.

² Just as there are many more and far more important customs and ideas common to all Christians, or again others common to all old Churches as opposed to those of Reformed sects.

The mere fact that they are all opposed to the Papacy for many centuries and have no inheritance from the Reformation of the 16th century is a negative common ground. But beyond this the Eastern attitude is a real and important point to realize. It applies to all these sects as much as to the Orthodox. What it comes to is, first, much in common with us except the Papacy. All have very definite ideas about hierarchical organization and authority; we shall hear much about their Patriarchs, Katholikoi, Mafrians, and so on. All have a fully developed sacramental system, a clear idea of the priesthood and eucharistic sacrifice, elaborate rites, vestments, and ceremonies, copious incense, monasticism, complicated laws of fasting and celibacy, saints—in short, what we may call the visible, organized Church idea. The mere minister and Gospel preacher, the Bible only, Protestant ideas of Grace and Predestination, all this is as strange to them as to us. It follows that all Eastern Churches stand much nearer to us Catholics than does any Protestant sect. Most of the dogmas we have to explain and justify to Protestants are accepted by them as a matter of course. Although many have a panic fear of the Pope, his position can easily be explained to them. They have most autocratic Patriarchs already; they have only to add the topmost branch to their idea of a hierarchy. What the Patriarch is to his Metropolitans, that is the Pope to the Patriarchs. Even infallibility can be no great stumbling-block to people who have a very definite idea of an infallible Church, of which Patriarchs are the authentic mouthpiece. They do not admit the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, because the Pope has defined it. If he had not done so, they probably would. Nestorians, of course, will not call her Mother of God. But they have unbounded veneration for the all-holy, most pure and sinless Virgin; they keep her feasts, and their liturgies surpass ours in glowing praise of her. If they do not all go to confession, they all know they ought to. All venerate relics and the holy cross; most have numerous holy pictures in their churches.

Then, lastly, there are many points in which they agree with the Orthodox rather than with us. Ferdinand Kattenbusch goes so far as to call them all "bye-churches"¹ of the Orthodox.

¹ "Nebenkirchen" (*Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Confessionskunde*, i. 205).

That is perhaps not quite fair either to them or to the Orthodox. But certainly, in many ways, of the two great Churches they stand nearer to Constantinople than to Rome. This is natural enough. When they broke away they left the Eastern half of Christendom. The "Orthodox" Church in our technical sense did not yet exist, or (if one likes) the Orthodox were then Catholics. But they always had their own customs, rites, and in many points their own ideas. It was these that the lesser Eastern Churches took with them. And since then, since the schism of the Orthodox, that Church has been their great neighbour. Rome is far away; most Nestorians and Monophysites have been too poor, too ignorant, to know much about her. The great rival at hand was always the Church of the Eastern Empire. Their relations to her have varied considerably, as we shall see. Sometimes they have been well disposed towards her, often bitterly hostile. But her influence has always been great. And in one point they are always ready to join her. When the Orthodox fulminate a mighty protest against the horns of Roman pride, when they protest that the "mad Pope makes himself equal to God," then they sound a note soothing and grateful to the unorthodox also. So there is a common Eastern attitude in many ways. The liturgies of all these little sects, widely different as they are, have a certain common colouring with that of the Byzantine Church. A Nestorian would be very much puzzled by either the Byzantine Liturgy or the Roman Mass, a Copt still more; but of the two the Byzantine rite would seem less hopelessly unintelligible. The vestments of all these sects are rather Byzantine than Roman. Their Calendars, again, various as they are, are nearer to that of the Orthodox than to ours. Titles, ranks, functions of all kinds can generally best be explained by parallel Orthodox ones. Their theology too. All these Churches are profoundly affected by Greek ideas, by the Greek Fathers; all use Greek terms in their various languages; all, in short, come from a Greek foundation.¹ So there are definite points of theology in which all agree with the Orthodox against us. Besides the questions of the Papacy and the Immaculate Conception, all

¹ Most the Copts, Jacobites, Armenians, less the Nestorians and Abyssinians—but these also, as we shall see.

Eastern schismatics believe in consecration by the Epiklesis and reject the Filioque.

We come to a great question which one would like to clear up at once. What is the attitude of these smaller sects as to the Church of Christ? We believe that this is necessarily one visibly united body, everywhere holding the same faith, in communion with itself always and everywhere. So do the Orthodox, as I have shown.¹ We say it is our Church, they say it is theirs. But what about the smaller Eastern sects? Are they logical, claiming each to be the whole true Church, in the teeth of the absurdity of such a claim; or do they admit separated sects, teaching different faiths, as making up one Church together? Has, in fact, the Branch theory adherents in the Highlands of Kurdistan, the Egyptian desert and the wilds of Abyssinia? I am not sure; it is a difficult point; but I believe it has. In the first place, these rude folk have probably not thought much about the question at all; they have too little theology of any kind to have evolved a clear theory about the unity of the Church. It may no doubt be said safely that their sects have no dogmatic position as to this question, except that, of course, in any case they themselves are all right. Whoever else may be, they are members of the true and Apostolic Church. Otherwise, it is a matter about which each member will form his own opinion, and form it differently. I know one case of an Armenian bishop who has a theory of juxtaposition of all bishops with equal rights, co-ordination not subordination, which comes to very much the same thing as the famous Branch theory.² But the others? If one were to ask a Nestorian, Coptic, Jacobite bishop, what would he say? One can only conjecture. The Monophysite would say that the Council of Chalcedon taught heresy, that all who accept its dogma are heretics. Could he admit that heretics are part of the true

¹ *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 365-372.

² See Lord Malachy Ormanian (ex-Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople): *L'Église Arménienne* (Paris, 1910), p. 86. He admits "every Church which acknowledges the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Redemption" as part of the universal Church. This would include every kind of Protestant sect—Quakers, Christian Scientists and Mormons. He comes up against the fundamental difficulty of all branch theories, that no one can tell you which the branches are.

Church? Surely not. Therefore, the only real and authentic Church of Christ on earth consists of the Monophysite bodies. It follows obviously. So (with the necessary change) if one asked a Nestorian. He must admit that we are heretics; surely heretics are outside the Church? And yet would these people really have the courage of their convictions? It would be magnificently consistent. The whole and only true Church of God is that poor little sect in Mesopotamia, or the scattered relics of Monophysism about the Levant—and all other Christians heretics wandering in outer darkness! If one urged them, I doubt if they would boldly take their stand on this position. Probably they would hedge and get confused. Their sect in any case would be entirely right; as for the others, they are not altogether wrong, they are true Churches but somewhat corrupt, not exactly heretics, or at any rate not much heretics. We should reform away our errors, but meanwhile we are parts of the universal Church; only, it is sad that that Church is so grievously wounded in many of her branches. Such, I imagine, would be something like what they would say. It is, of course, all a hopeless tangle and a confusion beneath contempt;¹ it would show that they have never considered the matter seriously. I feel fairly sure they have not. But I think it is what they would say.²

We may, then, conceive a vague class of Eastern Churches as one group. They are joined, not by intercommunion, nor indeed by any really important theological principle, but by a common attitude in certain ways, by a certain common outlook, and by a common descent still shown in many points of ritual and organization. If we make a table of all Christian Churches and sects, its arrangement will, naturally, depend on the basis of our

¹ Does this need demonstration? We want an answer to two plain questions: 1. Are we heretics? (If not, then your special dogmas are not part of the faith; so why do you insist on them? Why have you broken communion with us for their sake?) 2. Can heretics be part of the true Church? (If so, then what do you mean by the Church? Where is its authority to teach, etc.?)

² I cannot state this absolutely, as I have no authentic documents. But such things have been said to me in conversation by clergy of these sects. I have heard them in England too.

classification. According as we divide by various differences, so shall we have various schemes of genus and species. One could of course make the Papacy the first difference, and so begin by dividing Christendom into Catholic and non-Catholic. This is theologically, from our point of view, the vital distinction of all, of course. We should then subdivide non-Catholic Christendom into Western (Protestant) and Eastern, and each species would have many further divisions. The Catholic species might also be divided into Latins and Uniates, these last with subdivisions. But, archæologically (and this is the point of view of this book), another system suggests itself, according to what has been said. Under the genus Christian we put first two main species, the old Churches (that have so much in common, in spite of the difference about the Pope), and the Reformed bodies (different in many vital ways from all old Churches). We need not go into the subdivisions of the Protestant group. The old Churches then fall into the species Western (Latin) and Eastern. The Eastern are either Byzantine or the group of lesser Eastern Churches. The Byzantines are Orthodox or Byzantine Uniate; the others divide into the Churches here described, each again subdivided into Uniate and separated.

Summary

There is no one "Eastern Church." Eastern Christendom is divided into three main groups: (1) the Orthodox; (2) the Nestorians; (3) the Monophysites. To these we must add a second main division, consisting of the Catholics (called Uniates). The Latins in the East and the various small Protestant missions with their converts do not form Eastern Churches. They are simply foreign bodies, Westerns now dwelling in the East. Turning back to our first three groups: the first (the Orthodox), by far the largest and most important Eastern Church, has been discussed in the former volume. The second group (Nestorians) consists of one historically important Church. The third (Monophysites) has four national Churches—the Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites, and Armenians, and now most of the Malabar people. We have, further, already noted some general points about these lesser Eastern Churches; especially that, although in no sense

united, although separated by extreme divergencies of doctrine (so that theologically one group is much nearer to us than it is to the other), nevertheless there is a general Eastern atmosphere about them, which to some extent justifies us in putting them all together in a rough kind of class.

CHAPTER II

THE EAST SYRIAN CHURCH BEFORE NESTORIANISM

THE traveller who passes the Turkish-Persian frontier near Lake Urmi, the stranger who goes to delve among the ruins of Nineveh, will perhaps wonder to find in these parts buildings which are plainly Christian churches. Among the unhappy non-Moslem population of these parts he will find families who have nothing to do with either Catholics or Orthodox, but who honour the life-giving Cross, who have priests and bishops, who are baptized and go to Communion, who in a word are Christians. Who are these people? Some new sect planted in these wilds by Protestant missionaries? No, indeed! Long centuries before Luther nailed up his theses these people worshipped God and Christ as they still do. They were once a mighty and widespread Church. The predecessors of the Patriarch who now rules a few families in Kurdistan ordained bishops for India, for Herat, for Samarkand and distant China. These people are the last tragic remnant of a Church whose history is as glorious as any in Christendom. Their line goes back to those wonderful missions which carried the name of Christ across Asia, to the great army of martyrs whose blood hallowed the soil of Persia, when Shapur II was the Eastern Diocletian, and back behind that to the mythic dawn when Addai and Mari brought the good news from the plains of Galilee, when Abgar sent letters to Jesus the good Physician, and Hānnān the notary painted a picture of the holy face. These people are the oldest schismatical Church in the world. They have stood in their pathetic isolation for fifteen centuries. They are all that is left of the once mighty Nestorian Church.

1. Political History

The remote beginning of our story is to be found not far from where the last remnant still lingers—in Mesopotamia, along the frontier of the Roman Empire and the land of the Persian King of Kings ; just as they are now again a frontier people, where the abominations of Turkish governors meet the vileness of their Persian colleagues. The background of the Nestorian Church is the political history of Mesopotamia and the lands around, till they become the national Christian Church of Persia. Since most people have rather a cloudy idea of what was happening in these lands, it may be as well to begin with an outline of their general history.

Through all changes the people, the indigenous population which was the prey of the two great Empires, was foreign to both. It is Semite. Since Aramaic in various dialects became the common language of Western Asia (roughly since the second Babylonian Empire) they have talked one of its many dialects. We now call Aramaic by the Greek name Syriac. If we class people by the inaccurate but convenient test of the language they use, we shall count these as Syrians, more nearly as East Syrians. In the period with which we have to deal the classical language of Mesopotamia and Syria was the dialect of the city of Edessa, from which are derived those of the Eastern and Western Syrians.¹ This Syrian nationality and language remains the common factor through all political changes. If we go back far enough we find the remote ancestors of our Nestorians subject to the first Babylonian Empire (B.C. 2500–1600), disputed by Egypt (they seem fated to be a frontier folk) ; then they were absorbed by the great Assyrian power (B.C. 900–600) ; for a short time by the second Babylonian Empire (B.C. 600–550) ; then by Persia under Cyrus (B.C. 550–331). But all this is still remote from our story. The conquests of Alexander the Great (B.C. 336–323) introduce an important new element,

¹ With slight differences. Three Syriac alphabets are used. The old form is called *Estrangelâ* (στρογγύλη). From this are derived the West Syrian letters (called *Serto* or Jacobite), and the East Syrian or Nestorian characters. *Serto* is most commonly used in books printed in the West, as being the alphabet of the best-known community.

the Greek language and Greek ideas. From his time Hellenism in Asia becomes a factor to be counted. He and the generals who divided his Empire after his death spoke, of course, Greek. Their courts were outposts of Hellenism in the midst of barbarians. But they did not Hellenize all their subjects. The native populations went on, after another change of masters, much as before. Through all Eastern history, behind the battles and triumphs, behind intrigues at court, embassies, alliances, treachery, you see dimly a vast patient crowd, silent and unchanging while kings clamour and fight. These are the great mass of the people. You figure them like flocks of sheep, driven by first one shepherd and then another, harried by taxes, forced to build palaces and serve in armies against other flocks (against whom *they* have no quarrel); yet all the time keeping their own languages, customs, religions, not really changed at all by the fact that, after half their villages have been burned, their men murdered and their women ravished, they have to pay taxes to a tyrant in the far West instead of to one in the far East. Provinces are handed to and fro; on our maps we colour vast districts red or green or yellow, according as they form part of Assyria, Persia, or Rome. They do not care. They lead their unknown life, follow their own immemorial customs, while far above over their heads empires crash together and shatter. To a child of the people the only law is the custom of his tribe, the only authority the village headman and village priest. What does it matter to him whether the booty torn from his people's fields is sent West to Rome or East to Persia; whether the soldiers he eyes with terror as they plunder his home, march under the eagles of Rome or the equally strange standard of the Great King? Admirably is all this expressed by the Arabic name for subject races, *rayah*.¹ We must understand this, because most of all in the East political divisions are no clue to race. The people we have to study are not Assyrians, nor Greeks, nor Persians, Egyptians, Romans. They have been bandied about between all these powers. All the time they remain just the same Semitic Syriac-speaking native population of Mesopotamia and Eastern Syria. Nearer than that one cannot go in defining their race. Practically a real bond is their language;

¹ *Ra'iyah*, pl. *ra'āiā*, a flock, from *ra'a*, *pascere*.

another equally real one all over the East is religion. It seems an odd criterion by which to measure races; yet, for practical purposes, the bond of Church membership is perhaps the nearest thing they have to our idea of race or nation. The Turk is not altogether wrong in considering each sect as a "nation."¹

After Alexander, then, we have outposts of Greek civilization and language thinly scattered among the native population. These are, of course, only small centres—a Greek court, a more or less Greek-speaking city, amid vast territories where all the peasants are barbarians. It is the same in Syria and Egypt. We shall understand the situation best by thinking of the little colonies of English amid the millions of natives in India. Moreover, just as we have taught many of the more educated natives to talk English, as we use English influence on the upper classes, whereas the crowded millions below remain unchanged; so many Syrians in towns learned to talk Greek, and Greek ideas filtered into their life, although the great mass of the people went on speaking their own language, worshipping their own gods, hardly touched by the aristocratic foreign element. But we must note too that even this partial Hellenization took place practically only in Western Syria. Of Alexander's generals, Seleukos Nikator (B.C. 312–281) inherited Syria and the East. He founded the Seleucid dynasty of Greek sovereigns, who reigned till B.C. 64. At first he set up his capital at Seleucia on the Tigris, opposite to which (on the left bank) later the city of Ctesiphon arose. But the capital was soon moved to Antioch on the Orontes.² Antioch then became the chief centre of Hellenism in Syria. The Eastern part, with which we are concerned, was hardly affected by Greeks at all. However, Greek, in a later form of the language, the *κοινή* that we know best in the New Testament, became the recognized international language among educated people throughout the East Mediterranean lands. Of the Seleucid kings the most famous—or infamous—is Antiochos IV, Epiphanes (175–164), against whom the Maccabees fought. During the reign of the third Seleucid king (Antiochos II, 261–246) a new monarchy arose in the East which deprived their empire of Persia and brought a disputed

¹ *Millah* (pron. *millet*), pl. *milal*.

² Called after his son Antiochos Soter (281–261), as Seleucia was after him.

and shifting frontier again to Mesopotamia. This is the *Second Persian Empire*, that of the Parthians. The Parthians were an Aryan race, followers of the old religion of Persia (Mazdaïsm), dwelling north-east of Persia proper, under the Caspian Sea and so towards the Himalaya. They are really another tribe of Persians ; their monarchy represents practically a revival of that of Cyrus. Two brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, were their chiefs in the third century B.C. These rose against the Seleucids ; in B.C. 250 Arsaces became king of the Parthian state. They had many great rulers (notably Mithradates I,¹ B.C. 175-138) who waged successful war against the Seleucids and then carried on the eternal contest of East and West against Rome. For already Rome has entered the arena. Since 200 B.C. she becomes more and more a factor in Eastern history. In 205 B.C. the Romans defeat Philip V of Macedonia ; this marks their first appearance on the stage they are soon to fill. At first Rome is only concerned to prevent any Eastern kingdom from becoming too powerful a neighbour. Antiochos the Great of Syria (Antiochos III, B.C. 223-187) wanted to assert supremacy over Greece, and had interests in Egypt. Rome opposed him in both. In 191 he was beaten and driven out of Greece ; in 190 Lucius Cornelius Scipio crossed over to Asia Minor and won the battle of Magnesia. Antiochos had to resign all his possessions in Asia Minor. They were at first given to a Roman ally, the King of Pergamon ; but in 133 B.C. they became the Roman province "Asia." From now the Seleucid kingdom gradually goes to pieces and the Roman Empire takes its place. Antiochos IV's attempt to Hellenize all Syria (of which the Maccabean revolt was an incident) was a bad failure. Then comes a long series of disputed successions to the throne and civil wars, in which Rome is more and more concerned. For a time (B.C. 86-66) Syria became a dependency of Armenia (p. 385). But the ever-advancing Roman power defeated the Armenians, and so at last the inevitable happened : Pompey with his legions entered Syria, the last Seleucid king (Antiochos XIII) was deposed, and Syria became a Roman province (B.C. 64). So we arrive at the state of things when Christianity appears in these lands. Rome faces the Parthian kingdom. Rome has taken up

¹ Mithradates I is also Arsaces VI.

the old contest for the West ; from now for seven centuries (till the Moslems come in 634 A.D.) East Syria is the frontier and the battle-ground of Rome and Persia.

But, meanwhile, between these two mighty Empires there is the Syrian desert, where tribes of Bedawin wander. These desert folk kept a kind of independence and constantly gave trouble to their neighbours. At various times they have formed independent states. So Palmyra (Tadmur) in an oasis between Damascus and the Euphrates (c. 230-272), Ituræa in the Lebanon, the Nabatæan kingdom south-east of Palestine, etc. One of these native states is important to us.

East of the Euphrates in the north of Mesopotamia stands a very old city called Urhâi. The Greeks had refounded it and given it the name *Edessa*. It is placed on a great caravan route which passes between the Armenian mountains and the great desert to the south. Here native princes managed to found a kingdom (Urhâi, Hellenized as Osroene¹) since about 136 B.C. The kingdom of Osroene remained the one centre of national Syrian independence between the Greek Seleucids (or, later, Rome) and Persia. It was also, as we shall see, the centre of national Syrian Christendom. There was nothing Greek, no Hellenization, at Edessa. The people spoke only Syriac,² the Kings of Osroene were native Syrians. Of this dynasty of kings most were named either Abgar³ or Ma'nu.⁴ The religion of Osroene was that of the pagan Semites generally—worship of the host of heaven (stars, sun, and moon) in general. There appears

¹ Urhâi is supposed to come from the name of a founder of the city. The Arabs make *ar-ruhâ* of this, Greeks 'Ορρόνη, then 'Οσρόνη. Edessa ('Εδεσσα) is a different word. Osroene remains the usual name of the kingdom, Edessa (in Greek, Latin, and European languages) of the city. The city in Turkish (and common modern use) is now Urfa. It is now mainly Turkish-speaking and Moslem ; there are a large Armenian, a small Jacobite, and a Syrian Uniate community. An account of the present state of the place will be found in Badger : *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, i. 321-333. He thinks Urhâi is Ur of the Chaldees. One of the Armenian massacres in 1896 was here (see Sir E. Pears : *Turkey and its People*, London, Methuen, 1911, pp. 285-289).

² Indeed, the dialect of Edessa became the classical Syriac language.

³ Either from the Syrian root *bgar*, to shut, hinder, belame, or Armenian *Aḫgar* = *apagh ahr*, a prince.

⁴ Arabic root *ma'an*, to assert, consider, be useful, etc.

to have been a special local cult of the Heavenly Twins.¹ A small native kingdom had little chance of keeping its independence between such neighbours as Rome and Persia. When Trajan (98-117) was fighting Persia the Romans stormed and sacked Edessa (in 116). It held out after that for another century. Rome asserted a kind of suzerainty over the little frontier state, which Osroene did not obey; so in 216 Abgar IX, the last king, was sent in chains to Rome. Osroene became a Roman province and the Empire established itself on the other side of the Euphrates.² The kingdom had lasted about three centuries.

The first centuries of the Roman occupation of Syria were certainly the happiest period in the long history of that much-trying people. They have obeyed in turn Babylon, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greeks, Rome, and then Arabs and Turks. During all these centuries of subjection never were they so well ruled, never did their chains hang so lightly, as under Rome. Even to-day the land is covered with splendid ruins of cities and temples, witnesses of the one bright period of Syrian history: from Ba'albek to Mosul you may read Latin inscriptions and see relics of the Roman rule.

The Parthian kings carried on the old quarrel against the West; there was fighting all down Mesopotamia. The Parthians were half-Hellenized; easygoing and tolerant, they had not behind them the full force of Persian loyalty. In the third century after Christ their place was taken by a fiercer foe to Rome. Ardashir son of Pabek, Satrap of Iran, rose against the Parthian king (Artaban), slew him at Hormuz on May 28, 227, and gathered up his inheritance. Ardashir³ (of the house of Sassan) founded a monarchy which was a closer revival of that of Cyrus and Darius. From him came the Sassanid kings, who reigned for four centuries. Their rule was pure Persian; their ideal was to restore Iran as it had been before Alexander. One result of this was a revival of the old Persian national faith. The religion of Persia was dualism. All the universe is a battle-ground between the good

¹ The stars Castor and Pollux. These are represented on their coins. Burkitt: *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 17.

² See Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, chap. viii. (ed. Bury 1897, vol. i, pp. 207-208).

³ Greek Artaxerxes.

god Ahura Mazda and the bad god Anra Mainyu.¹ All nature is divided between their respective clients ; the dog, for instance, is a champion of Ahura Mazda, the frog of Anra Mainyu. Man has to fight for the good god against the bad one. Each has a court, as an Eastern king might have. The seven Amesha Spentas (Holy Immortals), like archangels, fight for Ahura ; seven evil spirits oppose them in the service of Anra Mainyu. The symbol of Ahura Mazda, the most sacred thing visible, is the Sun and fire. There is a hierarchy of priests called *mobeds*, under their chief, the *mobedan mobed* ; in their temples they keep alive the sacred fire, symbol of Ahura's reign of light. What are we to call this religion ? It is very old, developed out of the original Aryan mythology, of which Brahmanism is another, a baser development. When the Aryans poured into the plains of Persia, already they brought with them at least the germ of this faith. It was organized, reformed (in no sense founded), by Zarathushtra.² But to call it Zoroastrianism is as bad as to call Islam Mohammedanism, or worse. The small communities who still hold this old religion in India are called Parsis (which means simply Persians), in Persia "Gebers" (which is an insulting nickname used by Moslems).³ "Fire-worshippers," too, is an offensive name, which they repudiate indignantly. According to our general principle, one would like to call them by their own name for themselves. But they have none. They call their cult "the good religion of Ahura Mazda" ; they call themselves often *yazdān parast* (worshipper of God). All things considered, "Mazdæism" and "Mazdæan," from the name of their god, seems the most reasonable. But we may notice that Zoroastrian, Parsi, Geber (guèbre), Magian, Fire-worshipper, all mean the same thing. I add only one or two more points about Mazdæism which occur in connection with our story. It has most elaborate principles of ritual cleanness and defilement. The *mobed* wears

¹ In later Persian Ormuzd and Ahriman. Ahura Mazda = Wise Lord, Anra Mainyu = Evil Spirit.

² Now Zerdusht ; Greek Zoroaster. He was undoubtedly a real person. See A. V. Williams Jackson : *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899.

³ Either = *Kāfir* (infidel) or *Ḥabār* (wizard) ; perhaps Persian *Gabrā* (= Aramaic *Gebar*, a man).

a mouth-covering when he tends the holy fire, lest his breath defile it. Especially are death and a dead body unclean. A corpse may not defile earth, fire nor water. So, as everyone knows, Mazdæans put dead bodies on their Towers of Silence, to be eaten by vultures. Burial, and still more cremation, are horrible to them. They have also a great aversion to any kind of asceticism. Life and pleasure are gifts of Ahura Mazda ; not to enjoy them is positively sinful : it is perhaps the only religion which considers fasting actually wicked. They hate celibacy. Their sexual morality is correct, save for one extraordinary point : they allow, even command, incest, and may (often did) marry their own sisters.¹

This religion, then, under the Sassanid kings was the state religion of the Persian kingdom. It had not died out under the Parthians ; but it was now more closely identified with Persian nationality, and became intolerant and persecuting. It was death to apostatize from it ; the *mobeds* continually stirred up fierce persecution against other religions, so that, as we shall see, Christians in Persia suffered even more than under Pagan Rome. But Mazdæism was not the one cult of all the Great King's possessions. Its home was among the Aryans of Old Persia, down by the Gulf. Among the subject Semites other cults, the last remnants of Babylonian mythology, still lingered. The first pagans whom Christianity met in Mesopotamia and Adiabene² were not Mazdæans but polytheists, worshipping Nature-forces, wells and trees.

We have said that the Sassanid kings took up the old quarrel against Rome. During nearly all their time war rages along the frontier, with varying success. But they brought new energy to their side, so that on the whole the advantage seems to be with them. Julian (361-363) died fighting the Persians (against

¹ A good short modern account of Mazdæism is V. Henry : *Le Parsisme*, Paris, 1905 (*Les religions des peuples civilisés*). The modern Parsi resents being called a dualist, and maintains that his religion has always been pure monotheism. Ahura Mazda is simply the old Persian name of God. Anra Mainyu is no more a rival bad god than our devil. This is modern purification under Christian influence. The Brahmin too now says he is a monotheist. But there seems to have been always the idea of a final triumph of Ahura Mazda.

² Hadyab, the country between the Tigris and the Zab.

Shapur II) ; his successor Jovian (363-364) had to conclude a disgraceful peace, giving up Nisibis and all the provinces beyond the Tigris (363). There were, of course, intervals, sometimes long intervals, of peace, during which the Emperor sent friendly embassies to his brother the King of Kings. But, speaking generally, the background of the story of Eastern Christianity during the first five or six centuries is this eternal struggle between Rome and Persia ; behind our theological discussions, synods and bishops, we see tramping legions and flames of burning cities. It might have gone on indefinitely. Would either power ever have worn the other out ? Each had worn itself out when, in the 7th century, a new factor entered the scene and swept them both away. Mohammed died in 632. Almost immediately his followers burst upon the Roman Empire in Syria and Persia. Khalid¹ led a Moslem army against Hīra, an Arab state dependent on Persia ; then under Sa'ad Ibn Wakkās they conquered Chaldea and Mesopotamia ; ten years later at Nehāwand they won the "Victory of Victories" which made them masters of all Persia (642). The last Sassanid king (Yazdagird III, 632-651) fled and was murdered by wild Turks ; the Khalif's power was established in Iran and spread to the land beyond the Oxus. Meanwhile, with equal success the Arabs were tearing provinces from Rome. In 634 they invaded Western Syria. They took Bosra, then defeated the Roman army at Ajnadain (July 30, 634). At Yarmūk the Romans again suffered a crushing defeat (Aug. 23, 634). Damascus fell in 635, and Emesa the next year (636). In 637 Omar, the second Khalif, entered Jerusalem ; in 638 Aleppo and Antioch were taken.² So from now the situation changes. The old quarrel of Rome and Persia has come to an end, the people so long bandied about between different masters are now ruled by the Moslem Khalif. After the Arab conquest there is little more political history to tell. Till 750 the Khalifs of the house of 'Umayyah reigned at Damascus ; then they were succeeded by the long line of Abbās at Bagdad.³ This

¹ Hālid Ibn Walīd.

² The Moslems conquered Egypt in 639.

³ Bagdād on the Tigris, just north of Ctesiphon, was chosen as his capital by 'Abdullah al-Manṣūr, the second Abbasside Khalif (754-775).

line reigned there till 1258. Meanwhile the Turks had already appeared. The Turks are a Turanian people who came from Central Asia beyond the Oxus. Already in 710 the Arabs had pushed their conquests into this country and had begun to make converts there. Throughout their history the Turks are Moslems, pupils of the Arabs in religion, custom, and everything.¹ There are many tribes of Turks. The civil-spoken gentlemen at Constantinople who wear French clothes and read French newspapers have wild and shaggy cousins who guard their flocks in Central Asia. The first on the scene are the Seljuk Turks. They begin to attack the Roman Empire in the 11th century. Their Sultan² Alp-Arslan invaded Asia Minor and took the Emperor Romanos prisoner in 1071. In 1092 Nicæa (Isnik) became the capital of a Seljuk kingdom covering Asia Minor and Palestine. Theoretically the Turks acknowledged the Khalif at Bagdad as their overlord; practically, the centre of gravity of Islam shifts from the weak titular ruler to the Turkish Sultan. It was against the Seljuk Turks that the Crusaders fought.³ The Khalif had a Turkish bodyguard; already the way was open for them to seize whatever shadow of authority was left to him. Then in the 13th century a frightful storm burst over both. The Tatars under Jengiz Khān,⁴ "the scourge of God," burst over Asia, carrying havoc into China, Persia, Europe and Syria. In 1258 they sacked Bagdad and killed the last Abbassid Khalif, Musta'asim.⁵ Just at the same time the Osmanli Turks make their appearance; when the Tatar storm had passed they remain in possession of Syria, invade Europe, and found the Empire of

¹ A good parallel is that of the Franks in Western Europe, who learned everything from Rome, and finally became the successors and representatives of the Roman Empire.

² Sultān, a king (Ar. *salāt*, to rule). This was at first an inferior title, granted to the Turkish chieftains by the Khalif at Bagdad (like Amīr).

³ At first. Later the independent Amīrs of Egypt enter the lists.

⁴ Hān is a Persian word, again meaning Lord, Prince. It is one of the titles of the Sultan now.

⁵ Abū Aḥmad 'Abdullāh, al-Musta'asim billāh ("protected by God," 1242-1258). An alleged son of the house of Abbās fled to Egypt and continued the line of titular Khalifs there. Sultan Selim II (the Drunkard, 1566-1574), who lost the battle of Lepanto (1571), forced the last of this line to cede his rights to him. On this totally illegal bargain is based the Turkish Sultan's claim to be Khalif.

which they still hold fragments. We need now only add that Persia became an independent state in 1499. It had gone through many vicissitudes already, and had suffered cruelly from the Tatars. Meanwhile, the Persians, now all Moslems, except for a poor remnant of persecuted Mazdæans and the (Syrian) Christian Church, had evolved a Moslem heresy of their own which expressed their national feeling. The religion of Persia was Islam in the Shiah¹ form. In 1499 a certain Ismail founded an independent Persian Shiah state, hating and continually fighting the Sunni² Turks. That state still exists, though now under a foreign dynasty, the Khajars, founded by Aga Mohammed Khan in 1794.

This brings us to the end of the political history of these parts. It forms the background of all our further story ; it is well to keep in mind who were the successive rulers of the Christians with whom we are now concerned.

2. The Church of Edessa

There was, of course, no Nestorian Church before Nestorius (428-431). However, as we shall see, the people who took up his cause and went into schism for it were the extreme Eastern Church round about Edessa and in Persia. Before his time the causes of their separation had already begun to work. Moreover, most of the special characteristics of the later Nestorian sect are really pre-Nestorian ; its liturgy, customs, much of its canon law, and so on, come from its old Catholic days. The history of this most Eastern province of the Church is perhaps the least generally known of any part of Christendom. We may, then, begin profitably by an account of the spread of Christianity in these parts, and their story down to the arrival of the heresy which cut them off in the 5th century.

{ The city of Edessa, capital of the kingdom of Osroene, is the centre from which Christianity spread through East Syria and

¹ Ši'ah, " following " ; a group of heresies based on the common idea that 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib was the lawful successor of Mohammed. It has evolved further mystic and pantheist developments.

² Sunni, a believer in the Sunnah (path=tradition), the name of the majority of Moslems, again divided into sects.

into Persia. How did the faith come to Edessa? One of the oldest and perhaps most famous of all the stories by which local Churches later connected themselves directly with our Lord and his Apostles is the legend of Abgar of Edessa. It exists in many versions; Syrians, Armenians,¹ Arabs, Greeks and Latins all tell the story. But all go back to two main sources, the Syrian *Doctrine of Addai* and Eusebius' Greek version.² We will tell the story first, then see what we are to think of it. The *Doctrine of Addai* is a Syriac work by an unknown writer of Edessa, composed before the end of the 4th century.³ The text with a translation has been published by Mr G. Phillips.⁴ The story as here told is this. In the time of our Lord, Abgar Ukkama,⁵ son of Ma'nu, was King of Edessa. He suffered from an incurable disease.⁶ Abgar sent an embassy to Sabinus, the Roman governor at Eleutheropolis in Palestine.⁷ The ambassadors were two Edessene noblemen, Mariyab and Shamshagram, with a notary, Ḥannân the Scribe. On their way back they pass through Jerusalem and there hear of the great Prophet who heals the sick. They see him themselves and think that he might perhaps heal their king. Ḥannân writes down all that happens, and they take the report back to Edessa. Abgar would like to go to Jerusalem to be healed, but fears to pass through Roman territory. So he sends Ḥannân back with a letter beginning: "Abgar the Black to Jesus the good Physician"; in this he says that he feels sure that Jesus is either God himself or the Son of God, and invites him to come and live at Edessa and heal Abgar's disease. Ḥannân found our Lord in the house of Gamaliel, "Chief of the Jews." Our Lord answered: "Go, tell thy master who sent thee: Happy

¹ Léroubna d'Édesse: *Histoire d'Abgar*, in V. Langlois: *Collection des historiens anc. et mod. de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1880), i. 313-331.

² Tixeront: *Les origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, pp. 22-29.

³ Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 11.

⁴ G. Phillips: *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle* (London, Trübner, 1876).

⁵ Ukkâmâ, "Black." There is already some doubt as to which King Abgar he is meant to be.

⁶ Not specified. Later writers say it was "black leprosy," hence his name (Tixeront, *op. cit.* p. 47); Bar Hebræus says he was called Black because he had white leprosy (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, iii. 14).

⁷ Eleutheropolis was not so called, and had no governor, till the year 200.

art thou, who hast believed though thou hast not seen me ; for it is written that they who see me shall not believe, but they who see me not shall believe. Concerning what thou hast written, that I should come to thee : I go back to my Father who sent me, because that for which I was sent is now finished. But when I have gone to my Father I will send thee one of my disciples, who shall heal thee of whatever sickness thou hast. He shall bring all who are with thee to eternal life ; thy city shall be blessed, no enemy shall rule over it for ever.”¹ Ḥannân then painted a portrait of our Lord “in choice colours,”² and brought the picture and the message to King Abgar. Abgar set up the picture in a place of honour.³ After Pentecost, true to our Lord’s promise, a disciple Addai comes to Edessa. He was one of the seventy-two, and was sent by the Apostles. He lodged at the house of Tobias, a Jew, who brings him to the king. Abgar is at once healed and converted, with a great number of his people, especially the Jews of Edessa. Here occurs an interlude. Addai tells the story of the true Cross, not quite in the form we know. He says that Protonice, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, being converted by St. Peter, came to Jerusalem. St. James was then bishop there. They find the true Cross, which restores life to a dead man. The Jews stole the Cross and mocked the Christians ; that is why Claudius expelled Jews from Rome. But Abgar had already written to Tiberius demanding punishment on all who had killed our Lord. Tiberius grants what he asks, punishes Pontius Pilate and kills many Jews. Meanwhile, at Edessa

¹ This is the famous letter of our Lord to Abgar of Edessa, cherished all over Christendom in the Middle Ages. It has been found carved on a lintel at Ephesus, in Greek (Burkitt : *op. cit.* p. 15), and was worn as a charm in England before the Conquest (Dom A. Kuypers : *The Book of Cerne*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 205). The writer has, as usual, taken pains to reproduce Biblical language, and has found a very pretty antithesis : “they who see me shall not believe,” etc. But the promise about the independence of Edessa was rash. It was sacked by Lucius Quietus in 116, and was finally taken by Rome in 216. However, this assertion seems evidence of the great antiquity of the document. A forger could hardly have written that after 116. Perhaps it was composed to give confidence to the Edessenes about the time when the Roman danger was imminent.

² A scribe was, of course, an artist.

³ The portrait of our Lord was long the Eastern counterpart of our Western Veronica’s veil.

among Addai's converts are Aggai, jeweller and wig-maker to the king, and one Paluṭ. Addai being sick, ordains Aggai as his successor and Paluṭ as priest. He then dies in peace. Abgar also dies, and is succeeded by his son Ma'nu, a pagan. Ma'nu orders Aggai to make him some heathen piece of jewellery. Aggai, as a Christian bishop, naturally refused, so the king sent soldiers, who broke his legs as he sat in church. Thus Aggai dies a martyr. He had not had time to ordain Paluṭ. There was no bishop in Edessa. Paluṭ therefore goes to Antioch and is ordained bishop by Serapion, who was ordained by Zephyrinus of Rome, who was ordained by St. Peter, who was ordained by Christ. And we are told finally that "Labubnâ bar-Sennaḳ, the king's scribe, wrote this."

Eusebius tells the story in his *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 13. He agrees with the Syriac document in all the main points. Abgar writes to our Lord as "Good Saviour" and says he has heard of the cures he has accomplished "without herbs or medicines." Our Lord writes him a letter in answer,¹ in which Eusebius prudently leaves out the fatal promise that Edessa shall never be taken by an enemy. He knew, of course, that it had been taken by the Romans. Addai becomes Thaddæus; he is sent by St. Thomas. The story ends with the conversion of Abgar.

Many reasons prevent our taking this legend seriously. Apart from other anachronisms, there is the enormous one about Paluṭ. Serapion of Antioch is a real person; he reigned from 190 to about 211.² He could not have been ordained by Pope Zephyrinus, because Zephyrinus reigned from 202 to 218. But this is a minor error. The glaring impossibility is about Paluṭ himself. A man ordained priest by one of our Lord's seventy-two disciples could not possibly have lived to be ordained bishop by Serapion in 190. So we must leave the legend (though later it may suggest some historical considerations)³ and seek the origin of East Syrian Christianity in less picturesque but more authentic sources.

There was a Christian community at Edessa quite early, before

¹ Hence, no doubt, the popularity of this document. It would be the one extant authentic work written by our Lord himself.

² Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 11, 12.

³ See p. 33.

the independent state fell in 216. By the year 201 the Christians even had a public church in the city. The *Chronicle of Edessa*¹ says that in a flood which happened that year the " temple of the Christians " was destroyed.² There was also a King Abgar who was a Christian ; Julius Africanus³ went to his court.⁴ This is supposed to be Abgar VIII (176-213).⁵ We must suppose that the faith spread to the East in its first expansion after Whitsunday. Already, then, among those who heard the apostles speak in diverse tongues were " those who dwell in Mesopotamia." ⁶ Further, we may no doubt suppose that the very first converts, as usual, were members of the Jewish community at Edessa. The Mesopotamians who were at Jerusalem on Whitsunday were, of course, Jews from Mesopotamia ; ⁷ it is no doubt significant that the legend makes Addai dwell at the house of a Jew (above, p. 30). How far Addai is a real person is difficult to judge. Dr. Wigram is disposed to admit some basis of truth in him, on the strength of a lately discovered history of the Bishops of Adiabene.⁸ In any case, we have evidence of Christianity at Edessa in the 2nd century. From that time Edessa is the centre from which it spread in Mesopotamia, Adiabene, and into Persia. This is natural, since it was the chief city of East Syria ; we always find Christianity established first in the capitals and so spreading to the country round. Naturally, too, when local churches began to be organized, Edessa was the metropolitan see of East Syrian Christendom. The first Bishop of Edessa of whom we know for certain is Kōnâ, who built a church in 313.⁹ He was succeeded by Sa'ad (†c. 323-324), and after Sa'ad came Aitallâhâ. And now we are in the full light of history ; for Aitallâhâ sate at Nicæa in 325.¹⁰

¹ Compiled about 540 from contemporary archives, published by Assemani : *Bibliotheca orientalis*, i. 388-417, and by L. Hallier in the *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, ix. 1 (Leipzig, 1892). See Duval : *La littérature syriaque*, pp. 187-188.

² Assemani : *op. cit.* i. p. 390.

³ See the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, viii. 565-566.

⁴ H. Gelzer : *Sextus Julius Africanus* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 3.

⁵ Tixeront : *Les origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, p. 10.

⁶ Acts ii. 9. ⁷ Acts ii. 5.

⁸ Mingana : *Sources syriaques* (Leipzig, 1907). *Hist. of Mshihâzkâ*, pp. 77-78. See Wigram : *The Assyrian Church*, p. 27.

⁹ Tixeront : *op. cit.* p. 9.

¹⁰ Assemani : *Bibl. Orient.* i. p. 394, n. xiv.

Can we conjecture anything further about the time before Ƙonâ ? Mr. Burkitt, in his *Early Eastern Christianity*,¹ having discussed the Abgar legend and the few historic evidences for the earliest period,² makes an interesting conjecture as to what really happened. He thinks that Christianity began among the Jews of Edessa. Addai, a Jew from Palestine, first preached the Gospel there, probably before the middle of the 2nd century. At first Christianity was largely Jewish. Then it was accepted by the pagan nobility, and in the 3rd century became the State religion. Aggai, too, may well be a real person, Addai's successor. But this Edessene Church stood rather apart from the main stream of Catholic Christianity. It was a Jewish Church, which might have evolved into something like the Ebionites. Then, after the Roman Conquest (216), there came a new stream from Antioch, a more Catholic influence, in direct communication with the great Church of the Empire. This is represented by Paluṭ. At first, maybe, there was friction between these two parties.³ St. Ephrem notes that at one time the Catholics were called Palutians, as if they were a new sect.⁴ However, ultimately Paluṭ and his party remain in possession as the official Church of Edessa ; others become mere sects. Then, long after, a writer combines the two sources and imagines a line of bishops Addai—Aggai—Paluṭ.⁵ Paluṭ's successors are said to have been 'Abshalâmâ, then Bar-Samyâ, then Ƙonâ.⁶ During the persecution of Diocletian (284-305) and Licinius there were martyrs at Edessa. We hear of Shmunâ, Guryâ, a deacon Ḥabîb and others.⁷

Two figures stand out in the ante-Nicene Church of Edessa—

¹ London, J. Murray, 1904.

² Chap. i.

³ We might compare Paluṭ and the old Edessene Church (on this supposition) with St. Augustine of Canterbury and the British Church.

⁴ Burkitt: *op. cit.* p. 28. James of Edessa (684-687) quotes Ephrem as having said this.

⁵ Burkitt: *op. cit.* pp. 34-35

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ The Jacobite bishop James of Batnan in Mesopotamia (James of Srug. † 521; cf. Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, pp. 352-356) composed metrical homilies about these martyrs. Assemani: *Bibl. orient.* i. 329-333 (Nos. 191-192).

Bardesan and Tatian. *Bardesan*¹ was born at Edessa in 154, and was educated together with King Abgar VIII (176–213). He became a Christian and afterwards² turned heretic, so that he is known as one of the great ante-Nicene heretics, and the leader of a sect. What was his heresy? He was clearly some kind of Gnostic; but “Gnostic” covers many things. The common and apparently correct tradition is that he was a disciple of Valentinus. Michael the Great, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 1166 to 1199,³ gives an account of his ideas which, allowing for the cloudiness of all Gnostic metaphysics, agrees well enough with this.⁴ He died in 222, and left a school.⁵ *Tatian* (Tatianus Assyrius) made his name famous by his *Diatessaron*. He says of himself that he was “born in the land of the Assyrians” (*i.e.* East Syria), and had been a pagan.⁶ He came to Rome, and was converted about the year 150; here he wrote in Greek an Apology “πρὸς Ἕλληνας.”⁷ Then he went back to his own land (about 172) and settled at Edessa. Here he wrote his *Diatessaron*. *Diatessaron* (διὰ τεσσάρων) means “harmony.” It is the first example of an attempt to unite the four Gospels in one continuous narrative. He probably wrote it in Syriac. Either before or after this he broke with the Church. He became a Gnostic of the Valentinian type, and founded, or at least greatly promoted, the special sect of Enkratites (Ἐγκραῖται), who declared marriage, wine and flesh-meat sinful.⁸ The date of his death is not known. His sect existed for some time after him, and was

¹ Bar-Daišân, “Son of the Daišân,” which is the river at Edessa.

² So Epiphanius: *Adv. hæv.* lvi. 1 (P.G. xli. 990–991); Eusebius makes him first a Valentinian heretic, later more or less orthodox (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 30; P.G. xx. 404).

³ Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, p. 207. See below, pp. 329–330.

⁴ Quoted by Burkitt: *op. cit.* pp. 159–160.

⁵ Hilgenfeld: *Bardesan der letzte Gnostiker* (Leipzig, 1864).

⁶ Tatian: *Or. adv. Græc.* 42 (P.G. vi. 888).

⁷ P.G. vi. 803–888.

⁸ These are Bardenhewer's conclusions (*Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, Freiburg, 1902; i. 242–245). Harnack at one time maintained that Tatian was a Greek (*Texte u. Unters.*, Leipzig, 1882; i. 1–2); but afterwards admitted that he had been mistaken (*Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.*, Leipzig, 1897; ii. i. p. 284, note 1). There are other theories about Tatian's career, and the dates (*e.g.* Funk: *Zur Chronologie Tatians*, in his *Kirchengesch. Abhandl. u. Untersuch.*, Paderborn, 1899, ii. 142–152).

conspicuous through using water even for the holy Eucharist. For a long time Tatian's *Diatessaron* was the official version used by the East Syrian Church. But the memory of the author's bad end was always an argument against it; eventually the Syrians conformed to common Christian use and changed back to the Gospels as they were written, in four separate narratives. The official Syriac Bible, still used by all Syriac-speaking Christians, is the Peshitto.¹ Mr. Burkitt thinks this was introduced by Rabbulâ of Edessa (411-435; see p. 77).²

After Nicæa (325, at which Aitallâhâ, Bishop of Edessa, was present), the chief figure at Edessa is *St. Ephrem*. Ephrem³ the Syrian is the best-known of the "Eastern" (neither Greek nor Latin) fathers. He was born at Nisibis (then still a city of the Empire) under Constantine (306-337). He is said to have had Christian parents, to have been the pupil and friend of James, Bishop of Nisibis, and to have accompanied him to Nicæa in 325. During the Persian sieges of Nisibis (338, 346, 350) he encouraged his fellow-citizens; afterwards he wrote poetic accounts of these troubles.⁴ When Nisibis became Persian territory (363), Ephrem, with many other Christians, took refuge in Edessa. He lived as a monk on a mountain near the city, had many disciples, and came frequently to preach in the churches. About the year 370 he came to Cæsarea in Cappadocia to see St. Basil (†379), whose fame had spread over all the East. Basil ordained him deacon; he was not a priest. He died, the most famous theologian, orator and poet of the Syrian Church, in 373. St. Ephrem left an enormous amount of writings, commentaries on the Bible, sermons (in metre), hymns and poems, all in the dialect of Edessa.⁵ All Syrian Christians count him as their greatest father; his works were an important factor in determining the classical form of the Christian Syriac language. The Arians had already disturbed the peace of the Edessene Church during St.

¹ Mafakṭâ pšîṭṭâ ("simple version").

² *Early Eastern Christianity*, Lecture II.: "The Bible in Syriac," 39-78.

³ Afrēm.

⁴ *Carmina Nisibena*, published by G. Bickell (Leipzig, 1866).

⁵ Chief edition by the Assemanis in six folio volumes (Rome, 1732-1746). For further literature see Bardenheuer: *Patrologie* (Freiburg, 1894), 364-366.

Ephrem's life. After his death they got possession of it for a short time, and drove out the Catholic bishop Barses with his followers in 361. But their triumph lasted only a short time; then the Catholics came back.¹ It seems, indeed, that the later Nestorian heresy was taken up at Edessa, at least partly, as an opposition to Arianism (see p. 60).

What was the ecclesiastical position of the see of Edessa? By the unconscious development which we notice in the earliest Church organization, in which, naturally, the main centres obtained authority over lesser outlying dioceses,² Edessa certainly was the chief see of far-eastern Christendom. And when the first Christian missions began in Persia, they too came from Edessa, and looked to Edessa as their capital. We may count Edessa from the beginning as Metropolis of East Syria, the centre of Syriac-speaking Christendom, as Antioch was centre of the more Hellenized Churches of West Syria. But it has never been counted a Patriarchate. No Bishop of Edessa ever thought of assuming the tempting title of Patriarch of Mesopotamia. Why not? Because, at any rate in theory, they themselves were subject to Antioch. Edessa and its province, even (as we shall see) its outlying mission in Persia, were part of the great Antiochene Patriarchate. There does not seem any doubt of this in theoretic canon law, though it is a question how much real authority the Antiochene Pontiff exercised over these distant lands. For one thing, all Catholic Christendom before the Council of Constantinople in 381 was supposed to be subject to one of the three original Patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch.³ Edessa was certainly not in the Patriarchate of Rome or Alexandria. Antioch counted as its domain "the East" (πάση ἡ ἀνατολή), that is, the Roman prefecture so-called (Oriens).⁴ This covered Asia Minor, Thrace (Egypt), Syria, and stretched eastward as far as the Empire went.⁵ Edessa was in that prefecture. The story of Palut going up to Antioch to be ordained, whether it be history or legend, is significant, as showing the idea of dependence on

¹ Lequien : *Oriens. Christ.* ii. 957.

² See *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 7-8.

³ *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 8-9.

⁴ Except Egypt.

⁵ *Orth. East. Church*, pp. 16-17.

Antioch.¹ We shall see a story of the same kind in Persia (p. 42). On the other hand, it is, no doubt, true that the authority of Antioch in these distant East Syrian lands was rather theoretic than practical. Edessa is a long way off. Moreover, its development, long before the schism, already shows signs of peculiar features, of a want of close cohesion with the Mother Church, such as often makes an all too easy beginning for schism. Language made a difference. Antioch was mainly Greek and became more and more so, as did the cities near it in West Syria.² Its liturgy was celebrated in Greek, at any rate in the cities. Preachers, such as St. John Chrysostom, spoke Greek; at Jerusalem St. Cyril taught his catechumens in Greek. At Edessa and in the East there is no Greek at all; everything, including the liturgy, is Syriac. And the East Syrian liturgy, though one might classify it remotely as Antiochene, was celebrated so far from its original source, was so little confronted with the later use of Jerusalem-Antioch, that it developed into a special rite, hardly recognizable as having any connection with that of West Syria.³ If we use later language (never actually applied to this East Syrian Church) we may describe the Metropolitan of Edessa as the almost independent *Exarch* of East Syria and (at first) of Persia, having a vague dependence on the distant Patriarch of Antioch.⁴

For the present we leave Edessa. Only we may note lastly one other point. The story of Paluṭ's ordination by Serapion of Antioch is not content to join Edessa to Antioch. It carries the line further, and tells us that Serapion was ordained by Zephyrinus of Rome, who came from Peter, who came from Christ. Serapion was not ordained by Zephyrinus, as we have seen (p. 31).⁵ But that does not matter. The meaning of the legend is clear.

¹ In the East the right of ordaining always involves jurisdiction over the ordained; *ib.* pp. 7, 45, etc.

² Though in the country Syriac was spoken in the West too.

³ For the East Syrian liturgy see pp. 149-156.

⁴ Even the detail that East and West Syria evolved variant forms of their alphabet shows their separate development.

⁵ Burkitt suggests a reason for the name of Zephyrinus. He was Pope when Abgar IX, the last King of Edessa, was sent a prisoner to Rome in 216. It was possibly this Abgar who was the first Christian king, who at least protected Christianity, and so was the origin of the story of Abgar the Black (*Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 26-27).

Edessa was conscious of a throne in the far West, still greater than Antioch, and wanted to show that it got its bishop ultimately from the main line of Pontiffs, who go back to St. Peter and from him to Christ. It is only a little hint; we could hardly expect more in the legend of a remote Eastern Church; but it is significant. Edessa, too, knew that there is another centre behind Antioch, that a perfect line of dependence goes on till it joins Peter's successor at Rome. The early Church of Edessa was Catholic.

3. The Persian Church

The same impulse which brought the Gospel to Mesopotamia carried it over the frontier into the rival state. The barrier of the Persian Empire stopped the legions; it could not stop men who obeyed the command to go and teach all nations. So under the Great King very early we find people who were, as Tertullian says of the Britons, "to the Romans indeed inaccessible, but subject to Christ."¹

In this case, too, we have a legend which we will examine first. It has various forms. The most mythical form is that of Timothy I, Nestorian Patriarch (728-823), who says that the Wise Men of the Epiphany began to preach the Gospel as soon as they came home.² Others ascribe the first mission to the Apostle St. Thomas and make lists of bishops from him. The chief legend is that of the *Acta Maris*,³ a Syriac work of the 6th century, based on the *Doctrine of Addai*.⁴ This was then repeated by many writers, and was, so to say, the official account of its origin accepted by the Persian Church, and by the Nestorians down to our own time.

The story is that Addai sent his disciple Mari⁵ to Nisibis. Mari there destroys pagan temples, builds many churches and monasteries. Then he travels down the Tigris, preaches the Gospel by Ninive, around the capital (Seleucia-Ctesiphon), and comes as far

¹ *Adv. Iud.* 7 (P.L. ii. 610).

² Labourt: *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 10.

³ Abbeloos: *Acta S. Maris Syriace sive Aramaice* (Brussels, 1885, with a Latin version); re-edited by P. Bedjan: *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, i. (Paris, 1890); German version by R. Raabe: *Die Geschichte des Dominus Mari* (Leipzig, 1893).

⁴ Cf. Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, 117-120.

⁵ Greek Μάρης.

as the province of Fars, where he "smelt the smell of the Apostle Thomas."¹ Everywhere he builds churches and monasteries, and at last dies in peace at Dar-Ḳoni, just below the capital, having ordained Papa Bar 'Aggai to be first Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. This Papa is a real person, who lived at the end of the 3rd century; so, again, we have an impossible connection, an anachronism of two centuries. Is there any historical basis for Mār² Mari, or is he only a legendary figure? Labourt and Duval do not think that his story can really be defended at all. Labourt conceives it as a late legend, composed to exalt the insignificant village Dar-Ḳoni, and to make it a place of general pilgrimage. But he would admit as possible that there was such a person.³ Dr. Wigram, on the strength of Mšīḥāzkā,⁴ would admit Addai and a bishop Pḱidā whom he ordained for Adiabene in 104. For Mari (whom Mšīḥāzkā does not mention) he thinks there is less evidence.⁵

Labourt regrets that instead of these legends we can advance "only timid conjectures" about the origin of Persian Christianity.⁶ There were flourishing Jewish colonies in Babylonia under the Parthian king. Whitsunday saw "Parthians and Medes and Elamites and dwellers in Mesopotamia" at Jerusalem,⁷ that is, Jews from those countries. No doubt, among them in their own homes, too, the name of Christ was preached very early. Another source of Persian Christianity was the land of Adiabene (Ḥadyab), between the Tigris and the Zab, just across the Roman frontier. Here during the Roman persecutions Christians would find peace under the tolerant Parthian kings. But there is a city, Roman at first, which became the second centre of East Syrian Christianity, and then one of the most important places of the Persian Church. This is *Nisibis*,⁸ about 120 miles almost

¹ *Acta S. Maris*, § 32 (transl. by R. Raabe, p. 59).

² *Mār*, by the way, is a title we shall often meet. Syriac, *mār* (*mārā*), fem. *mārt*; Arabic, *mār*, f. *mārah*, means Lord (Lady). It is used for bishops, patriarchs and saints (sometimes with the first pers. suffix: *māri*, etc.).

³ Labourt: *op. cit.* 14-15. Duval: *loc. cit.*

⁴ Above, p. 32.

⁵ *Hist. of the Assyrian Church*, pp. 28-30.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 15.

⁷ Acts ii. 9.

⁸ Νῑςῑς. Syr: Nšībīn, Nšībīn, now a mean Arabic village with a few Armenians and Jacobites.

due east from Edessa. It was the great frontier garrison town of the Empire, and Christianity was firmly established there before the Persians took it.¹ After withstanding repeated sieges, it was ceded to Persia finally in 363 (after Julian's defeat and death). Many of the Christians retired into Roman territory ; but others remained, and in time, as we shall see (p. 75), the school of Nisibis became the centre of Nestorian theology. From here the faith spread east and south. There were Christians in various parts of the Parthian kingdom ; but the Church does not appear to have been organized in a hierarchy before the Sassanid revolution (224). Later legends make lists of bishops back to the first age, especially in the case of the Metropolis, Seleucia-Ctesiphon. But it appears that, on the contrary, these twin cities were at first hardly at all influenced by missionaries.² The Sassanid kings (e.g. Shapur I, 241-272) after their conquests carried out the old Eastern plan of deporting whole populations of subject provinces to other parts of their kingdom. These formed large Christian colonies in Persia. The prisoners were often Christians ; they took their bishops with them, built churches, and so founded new dioceses in Persian territory. A later legend tells us that when the Emperor Valerian (253-260) was taken prisoner by Shapur, he had with him Demetrian, Bishop of Antioch. Demetrian went to Beth-Lapaṭ,³ east of the Tigris, and there founded the Metropolitan see of that place.⁴ There were, however, no metropolitan sees in this first period, no regular organization. Bishops, themselves exiles or wandering missionaries, looked after the people among whom they found themselves, as best they could. But already the long line of martyrs, which is the chief glory of the Persian Church, had begun. Even under the tolerant Parthians popular tumults, led naturally by the Mazdæan mobeds, had slain Christians for their faith. The first martyr is counted to be Samson, Bishop of Arbela (Arbēl) in Adiabene, successor of Pḫidā, whom Addai had ordained. He died in 123.⁵ There were others, as the result of local disturbances, repeatedly.⁶ The reason of

¹ St. Ephrem was a Nisibite ; see p. 35.

² Mšihāzkā, ed. by A. Mingana : *Sources syriaques*, vol. i. (Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1907), p. 111.

³ Now *Al-'Ahwāz*.

⁴ Labourt : *op. cit.* 19-20.

⁵ Wigram : *op. cit.* 33.

⁶ *Ib.* 33-37.



their death is nearly always either that they are apostates from the national religion, or have converted a Mazdæan. This is typical of the attitude of Persians before the great persecution. Christians were tolerated as foreigners from the Roman Empire. The Mazdæans understood that these Romans had their own religion ; they did not interfere in this case. But there was to be no tampering with the faith of true-born Persians. In 225 Mšîhâzkâ says that there were already more than twenty Christian bishops in Persia.¹ We have seen that these must be conceived as missionaries or exiles not yet organized in a regular province.

The organization of the Persian Church was the work of Papa Bar 'Aggai, whom legend makes the disciple of Mari. Really he lived at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries. He was Bishop of the civil capital, Seleucia-Ctesiphon. From him we can trace an authentic list of Primates of Persia down to the Nestorian Patriarchs, and so to Mâr Shim'un, now reigning at Ẕudshanis. Following the example of the Churches of the Empire, he wanted to organize the Persian sees under himself. He was Bishop of the civil capital : the civil centres naturally became the metropolitan sees of the country round.² But his plan met with strong opposition. Apparently the bishops in Persia had too long been used to their independence and want of organization to welcome such a plan. A synod met, the first of many quarrelsome Persian councils, at Seleucia about the year 315.³ The Fathers accused Papa of immoral conduct, of pride and scorn for canon law. He seized the Book of Gospels to swear his innocence, but his excitement brought on a fit of some kind ⁴ and he fell senseless. This, naturally, seemed a judgement from Heaven ; he was deposed, and his deacon, Simon Bar Ẕabbâ'e,⁵ was ordained in his place. Papa did not yield. He appealed to the "Western Fathers," a fact that is interesting as showing consciousness of higher authority over the local sees of Persia. Naturally his appeal went to the immediate chief, the Bishop of the Mother

¹ *Op. cit.* 106.

² See *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 7.

³ Wigram : *op. cit.* p. 50.

⁴ He was an old man ; ordained apparently in 280 (Wigram : *op. cit.* 45).

⁵ " Son of the Dyers."

Church of Edessa ;¹ a later tradition adds James of Nisibis, representing the next most important Church of those parts, as also receiving Papa's appeal. The Western Fathers decided in his favour, and quashed the acts of the synod which had deposed him. Their decision was accepted loyally by the Persian Church ; Papa was restored, and Bar Šabbâ'e, who protested that he had been intruded and ordained against his will, was to await his death, then to succeed him. The story is interesting as the first example of the quarrelsomeness which distinguished the Church of Persia ; it is important as showing her unquestioned dependence on the " Western Fathers." Till she became Nestorian, this Church acknowledged a higher authority over her ; she had a regular place in the ordered system of Catholic Christendom, as a missionary Church depending immediately on her mother, Edessa. We shall come to other evidences of this. Papa died about the year 327.² He was succeeded by Simon (Šim'un) Bar Šabbâ'e (†341), whose reign brings us to the great persecution of Shapur II.

Although the place of the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon as Primate of Christians in Persia was not formally recognized (at least by the Government) till after that persecution (see p. 48), it seems that Papa succeeded in his plan practically, that from his time we may date his see as the first in Persia. Until the Roman Empire became Christian, the Kings of Persia tolerated the foreign religion. Before Shapur II (339-379), there was a period of peace for Persian Christians, broken only by occasional outbursts of popular hatred (p. 40). During this time the Church was able to establish herself, spread throughout the kingdom,³ and prepare for the frightful storm that was coming. Monasticism was firmly established, as it was at Edessa and throughout East Syrian Christendom. In the early 4th century it was already a flourish-

¹ Dr. Wigram notes that he did not appeal to Antioch, and sees in this an argument for independence (*op. cit.* 53). That does not follow. An appeal goes naturally first to the immediate superior. Persia depended on Edessa, and Edessa on Antioch ; so the place of the Persian Church in the Catholic system was quite normal and regular.

² Wigram : *op. cit.* p. 55.

³ There were many conversions of Mazdæans, in spite of the danger to both converter and convert.

ing institution.¹ There were Solitaries (*ḥdnânāye*) and monks in community. The common name for a monk (but used also for a clerk in holy orders) is "Son of the Covenant."² There were also "Sons of the Church," or "Sons of the Faith," men who lead an ascetic life, apparently without having taken vows, who had no "covenant" or "pact" to bind them to this life.³ And there were "Daughters of the Covenant," too. A later tradition ascribes Persian monasticism to a certain Eugene (Augīn), who brought it from the Egyptian desert, and founded the famous monastery of Mount Izlâ near Nisibis in the early 4th century.⁴

The most important, almost the only, authority for these earliest times is *Afrahaṭ*,⁵ the "Persian Sage." He lived in the first half of the 4th century, was a monk and a bishop. Tradition makes him head of the monastery of Mâr Matai (St. Matthew), north of Mosul. Between the years 337 and 345 he wrote twenty-three Homilies or "Demonstrations," arranged acrostically, each beginning with a letter of the Syriac alphabet. These are the chief source of our knowledge of the theology, discipline and customs of the Persian Church before the persecution.

Afrahaṭ writes Trinitarian doxologies, naming the three Divine Persons in the usual way; but he does not know of the Council of Nicæa (325).⁶ His theology is hardly at all influenced by Greek ideas. He describes the Paschal Feast as kept on the 15th of Nisan, and lasting a week. It begins with baptism, and still has several Jewish observances.⁷ "The Lord with his own hands gave his body to be eaten and his blood to be drunk before he was

¹ So *Afrahaṭ*: *Demonstr.* vi. : *Patrol. Syr.* i. (ed. by Dom Parisot, Paris, 1894), p. lxxv.

² *Bar ḵyâmâ*: not easy to translate. *Ḳyâmâ* is a military station, a law, treaty, dogma, etc. (*ḵam*, to stand).

³ Labourt: *op. cit.* 29-30.

⁴ See the *Life of Eugene* (9th cent.), ed. by P. Bedjan (*Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, Leipzig, 1890-1895; iii. 376-480). Labourt does not think much of this story. Thomas of Margâ knows nothing of it (see p. 110).

⁵ Ἀφραάτης.

⁶ There was one Persian bishop at Nicæa; see Harnack: *Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums*, p. 442. Labourt denies this, and thinks that the "John of Beit-Parsaya" found in Syriac lists of the Nicene Fathers is an error for John of Perrhæ (*Le Christ. dans l'emp. perse*, p. 32, n. 2).

⁷ Dem. xii. (ed. Parisot, i. 505-540).

crucified.”¹ Of Afrahat’s twenty-three Homilies nine are controversy against the Jews, evidently still a burning subject.² He does not dare attack Mazdæism. Dem. i. 19 contains a curious archaic profession of faith and a statement of Christian law : “ This is the faith, that a man believe in God, Lord of all, who made sky, earth, sea and all they contain, who made man in his own image and gave the Law to Moses. He sent of his Spirit to the prophets, and at last he sent his Messiah to the world. A man must believe in the rising of the dead, and in the mystery of baptism. This is the faith of the Church of God.” The law is : “ Not to observe hours, weeks, new moons, yearly feasts,³ divination, magic, Chaldæan arts and witchcraft. To keep from fornication, poetry, unlawful science, which is the instrument of the evil one, from the seduction of honeyed words, blasphemy and adultery. Not to bear false witness, not to speak with a double tongue. These are the works of faith built on the firm rock which is Christ, on whom all the building rests.”⁴ We can agree that the Persian, indeed the East Syrian Church generally, kept these rules faithfully. The dull documents of later ages will convince anyone that she abstained strictly from the seduction of honeyed words. Renan pointed out that the dominating note of Syriac literature is its mediocrity.⁵

Constantine wrote to Shapur II : “ I rejoice to hear that all the chief cities of Persia are adorned by the presence of Christians.”⁶ But that was the end of peace. Shapur II, the long-

¹ Dem. xii. 6 (ed. Parisot, col. 518).

² There were large Jewish communities throughout Persia during all this time. From the 2nd to the 6th centuries, the centre of gravity of Jewry was in Southern Mesopotamia, where the Babylonian Talmud was composed. H. L. Strack : *Einleitung in den Talmud* (ed. iv., Leipzig, 1908), pp. 67-69 ; Graetz : *Hist. of the Jews* (Engl. translation, London, D. Nutt, 1891), ii. pp. 508-536.

³ That is, pagan astrological calculations and feasts.

⁴ Ed. Parisot, i. 44-45.

⁵ *De philosophia peripatetica ap. Syros* (Paris, 1852), p. 3. For Afrahat, see Labourt : *op. cit.* 28-42 ; Burkitt : *op. cit.* 79-95 ; Duval : *Littérature syriaque*, 225-229. His homilies are edited by W. Wright : *The Homilies of Aphraates* (London, 1869 ; Syriac only) ; by Dom Parisot in Graffin : *Patrologia Syriaca*, i. ii. (Paris, 1894-1907 ; Syr. and Latin) ; by G. Bert : *Aphraates des persischen Weisen Homilien* (Leipzig, 1888 : *Texte u. Unters.* iii. 3-4, German only).

⁶ *Vita Const.* iv. 13 (P.G. xx. 1161).

lived king who was crowned in his cradle and reigned seventy years (309-379), full of glory and renown, began what is perhaps the fiercest persecution the Church has ever had to endure.

It is strange that anyone can forget the Persian martyrs. Not in the worst time of Roman persecution was there so cruel a time for Christians as under Shapur II of Persia. In proportion to its extent and the time the persecution lasted, Persia has more martyrs than any other part of the Christian world. The cause of the persecution may easily be understood. As long as the Roman Empire was pagan the Persian king had no particular prejudice against Christians. Indeed, while Rome persecuted them, Christians found an asylum under the protection of her enemy. But when Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, how could the Great King tolerate it in his realm? Shapur II spent his life fighting Rome; could he allow his own subjects to profess the Roman religion? The cross was the Roman standard; could he let it stand on his side of the frontier? These Christians prayed with his enemies, no doubt they prayed for them. How could he tolerate such disloyalty behind him when he went out to war? It is the tragic situation often repeated in history: Christianity was treason against the State. Without any particular wish to trouble people's consciences, a country at war can hardly allow what seems treason at home. No doubt the Persian Christians, almost inevitably, gave some cause for this idea. They heard with joy that across the frontier the faith was now honoured, protected, triumphant. How could they help contrasting this with their own State? And when they learned that the Christian legions were marching against the Pagan king, how could they help hoping, praying, that their fellow-Christians should win, should occupy the land and bring to them too peace and honour, as the Church enjoyed where Cæsar reigned? Were there even machinations with Rome? It would not be surprising if there were. In any case, the Persian Government thought so. In Shapur's first proclamation against Christians he explains his reason: "They dwell in our land and share the ideas of Cæsar, our enemy."¹ The mobeds tell the king that "there is no secret which Simon² does not write to

¹ Labourt: *op. cit.* 46. ² Simon Bar Šabbâ'e, Papa's successor (p. 42).

Cæsar to reveal.”¹ Long afterwards, under Piruz (459-484), Babwai of Seleucia is cruelly put to death because a letter from him to the Emperor Zeno had been intercepted, in which he had written (as the Persians translated): “God has delivered us up to an impious sovereign.”² Shapur first made Christians pay double taxes to subsidize the war;³ then begins the long list of executions and torture which lasts throughout his reign. Christianity is punished by death; all Persians must show their loyalty to the King of Kings by accepting his religion.⁴ Simon Bar Šabbâ’e, Papa’s successor at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, is told to worship the sun. He answers: “The sun put on mourning when its Creator died, as a slave for its master.” His companions are killed before him, five bishops and a hundred priests; he dies last on Good Friday, 339.⁵ Shahdost,⁶ his successor, was martyred in 342; the next bishop of the capital, Bar Ba’shmîn, in 346. There was then a vacancy of twenty years.

It would be long to give even an outline of the martyrdoms under Shapur II. Till he died in 379, all over Persia, bishops, clergy, laymen and women were arrested, offered their choice between accepting Mazdæism or death, and were executed with all manner of horrible torture. The Roman martyrology on April 21 keeps the memory of St. Simon Bar Šabbâ’e and his companions (Byzantine Calendar, April 17); and on August 4 we commemorate: “In Persia the holy martyrs Ia⁷ and her companions, who with nine thousand others, under Shapur, tortured by diverse pains, suffered martyrdom;” so also the Byzantine Calendar on the same day.⁸ The Nestorians and Chaldees keep on the sixth Friday of summer “the memory of Mâr Shim’un Bar Šabbâ’e, Katholikos and Patriarch, disciple of Mâr Papa Katholikos, and of the Fathers who were crowned with him.”⁹ After Shapur’s death Mâruthâ, Bishop of Maiferkât

¹ Labourt: *ib.* 46.

² *Ib.* 143.

³ This is ordered by his first proclamation: Labourt, 46.

⁴ Jews were cruelly persecuted too.

⁵ Lequien: *Or. Christ.* ii. 1107. Labourt gives the story of his trial and death, 63-68; also Wigram: *op. cit.* 63-64.

⁶ Persian for “friend of the King.”

⁷ Eudocia (Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, Innsbruck, 1896; i. p. 234).

⁸ *Ib.* 233

⁹ *Ib.* ii. 687.

(see below), collected a great number of relics of these martyrs and brought them to his own city, which was then called Martyropolis. The Byzantine Menaia commemorates on February 6 "the holy martyrs who rest at Martyropolis, and St. Maruthas, who raised up the city in the name of the martyrs." A Syriac Calendar in the Vatican has this commemoration on Friday after Easter.¹ But there are many thousands of martyrs under Shapur whose names are not known. Sozomen tells the story of his persecution, and counts 16,000 as known.²

During Shapur II's reign an event of great importance to the Persian Church happened. Persia took the city of Nisibis in 363 (p. 26), and so this important see and theological school are henceforth Persian. Shapur's brother, Ardashir II (379-383), continued the persecution. But after his death there was peace for a time.³ Two rather mysterious Bishops of Seleucia now appear, Tamuzâ and ẖayumâ. Labourt doubts their existence:⁴ Wigram defends it.⁵ Then comes Isaac (Ishâk) I (399-410), contemporary with King Yazdagird⁶ I (399-420). During this time of peace after the first great persecution the Persian Church was thoroughly reorganized.

The chief agent of this reorganization was Mâruthâ of Maiferkaṭ, already mentioned. Maiferkaṭ was just over the frontier between the Tigris and Lake Van. Mâruthâ came to Persia as ambassador from Theodosius II (408-450); while he was there he used his influence as representing the "Western Fathers"⁷ to arrange the affairs of the distracted Christians in Persia. King Yazdagird was well disposed towards him⁸ and the Christians, and encouraged the work. In spite of her heroic suffering under persecution,

¹ Nilles : *op. cit.* ii. 334-335, and note 2.

² *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 14 (P.G. lxxvii. 969). A much fuller account will be found in Labourt : *op. cit.* 63-82; and Wigram : *op. cit.* 56-76.

³ Peace with Rome and for the Persian Christians. These two generally go together.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 85-86, note 4.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 101-102.

⁶ That is, I believe, the Persian form. In Syriac he is Yazdgerd, in Arabic Yazdashîr.

⁷ Being a suffragan of Edessa.

⁸ Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 8; P.G. lxxvii. 752) and others say that Mâruthâ was a physician, and healed the king of a bad headache. Yazdagird was very friendly towards Christians at first; so much so that they hoped to find in him the Persian Constantine, and the Mazdæans thought him an apostate. But at the end he became a fierce persecutor (p. 50).

the Church of Persia was torn by quarrels. The bishops had accused Isaac I of various malpractices, and he was put in prison by the Government. This appeal to the secular, pagan and persecuting power is characteristic of Persian Christians. Mâruthâ used his influence to set Isaac free, convoked a great synod to examine the charges against him and re-establish order generally. The synod met at Seleucia in 410. Mâruthâ played the chief part in it. It was to be for Persia what Nicæa had been for the Empire. About forty bishops were present. Mâruthâ presented letters from the Western Fathers—first Porphyrios of Antioch, the Patriarch (404-413), then the Metropolitan of Edessa and others. Here we see Antioch at the head of its Patriarchate, including Persia. The synod accepts and signs the decrees of Nicæa, including its creed. It accepts the rules made for it by the Western Fathers, namely: that only one bishop shall be allowed in each see; that he shall be ordained by three others; that Easter, the Epiphany, the forty days of Lent and Good Friday shall be kept as in the rest of the Church; that Nicæa shall be accepted. Twenty-one canons were drawn up on the model of those of Nicæa. Of these canons the most important to us are those which regulate the position of the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. He is made formally the head, the Primate of the Persian Church. All bishops and metropolitans may appeal to him; he must confirm all episcopal elections. This then definitely realizes the ambition of Papa (p. 41); from now we count the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon as unquestioned Primate of Christian Persia. From now also he is commonly called by a title that we meet for the first time. Metropolitan is not enough; he had metropolitans under him. Patriarch is too much; he had a Patriarch over him.¹ He was what we should call an Exarch, like those of Cæsarea and Ephesus.² As a matter of fact, he took what seems to have been meant as a more splendid title; he was the *Katholikos*.³

¹ It was not till the Persian Church began her path of schism that the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon called himself Patriarch. Till then he was himself subject to the Patriarch of Antioch.

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 23-25.

³ Katulikâ, Katulikûs, and various spellings. Ar. *gâthulik*. In English "Katholikos" seems the reasonable form, or at any rate "Catholicus," "Catholicos," not seldom seen, is a bad mixture of Greek and Latin.

This had already been adopted by the Armenian Primate (p. 405), from whom apparently the Persians took it. It is not easy to account for the origin of the title. There was a civil Roman official so called. No doubt its suggestion of the name of the Church in the Creeds made it seem a suitable form for the chief bishop of a vast semi-independent local Church. It was meant to imply the next thing to a Patriarch. One could not call oneself a Patriarch, because there was a fixed idea of only three Patriarchs, and then (by act of General Councils) of five.¹ It would have been repugnant to all the idea of Christendom at this time to call any important bishop a Patriarch, as later ages have done; just as our present multitude of "Emperors" would have seemed absurd. Later schisms destroyed this concept; as a matter of fact, all the original Katholikoi now call themselves Patriarch too. That the two titles were understood as meaning nearly the same thing is shown by the fact that East Syrian writers about this time (4th and 5th century) very commonly speak of the "Katholikos of Antioch."² The Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon later used various descriptions of the place of which he was Katholikos. The original see becomes less and less important, especially after the Moslem conquest. I doubt if Mâr Shim'un of to-day considers himself Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Rather the "Catholicate" (if one may so call it) itself becomes an office; as one could imagine the Papacy a separate thing, apart from the diocese of Rome. Isaac I's successors are just "Katholikoi," "Katholikoi of the East" (this is very common), "of Persia," and so on.

This synod of 410 drew up rules for the election of bishops, but made none for that of the Katholikos. As a matter of fact, for a long time he was nominated by the King of Persia. The synod incidentally found Isaac not guilty of the charges made

¹ *Orth. Eastern Church*, chap. i.

² Dr. Wigram thinks that *Katholikos* simply means *Patriarch* from the beginning; that the Katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was the equal of the Katholikos of Antioch (*Hist. of the Assyrian Church*, pp. 91-92). Eventually Persia certainly claimed this; but that was just because she had become a schismatical Church. In her Catholic period, no doubt the authority of Antioch was vague and rather theoretic, no doubt the Katholikos of Seleucia already tended towards independence, but by common Church law Antioch had jurisdiction over all the "East," and Persia was part of the East.

against him. Ten years later another synod (420) under Isaac's second successor Yaballâhâ¹ (415-420) adopted the canons of a number of Western synods.² Already, in the early 5th century, the Persian Church had missions in the more eastward parts of Asia. In the synods of this time there are signatures of Bishops of Herat, Khorasan and "the tents of the Kurds."³ Later, as we shall see (pp. 103-110), she became one of the chief missionary Churches of the world.

Towards the end of Yazdagird I's reign persecution broke out again. It began with the destruction of a Mazdæan temple by a Christian priest.⁴ Under Bahrām V (420-438) it continued and raged with appalling fierceness. Again there is a long story of hideous tortures and cruel deaths: again the Church of Persia sent countless numbers of her children to join the white-robed army of martyrs.⁵ A treaty of peace between Bahrām V and Theodosius II (408-450) in 422 guaranteed tolerance for Mazdæans in the Empire and for Christians in Persia. Nevertheless, there are martyrdoms for years after that.⁶

In 421 (or 422) Dadyeshu'⁷ became Katholikos; he had two rivals who also claimed the see. Further, a number of bishops contested the primacy of Seleucia-Ctesiphon altogether. This party persuaded the Government to put him in prison. Then he was let out again and resigned his see. But a number of other bishops refused to accept his resignation, and so a council was summoned at "Markabta of the Arabs," in 424, to settle these quarrels. Thirty-six bishops attended. Perhaps we should count this Synod of Markabta as the beginning of the schism. Although Acacius of Amida⁸ was in Persia at the time, he was

¹ "God gave" (=Theodore).

² E.g. of Antioch in *encaniis* (341), etc. Cf. Wigram: *Hist. of the Assyrian Church*, pp. 110-113.

³ *Ib.* 103, 105.

⁴ Labourt: *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 105.

⁵ For this persecution see Labourt: *op. cit.* 104-118; Wigram: *op. cit.* 113-120.

⁶ Labourt, p. 118.

⁷ "Friend of Jesus."

⁸ Amida (Diyarbakr) is on the Roman side of the frontier. Acacius had gained the esteem of the Persians by ransoming 7000 Persian prisoners (selling his church vessels), feeding them, and then sending them home. Bahrām V asked him to come to Persia to be thanked (Socrates: *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 21; P.G. lxvi. 782-783). He had been present at the synod of 420, and had used much influence over it.

not invited. No Western bishop was present. Dadyeshu' was persuaded to withdraw his resignation ; he is acknowledged as lawful Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, his authority over Persia is recognized. What is more important is that this synod asserts his complete independence of any earthly authority ; no longer are the " Western Fathers " to have any rights in Persia. That a synod in 424 should draw up such a law seems good evidence that till that time the Western Fathers had used authority of the kind now repudiated. From 424 we must date the independence of Persia from Edessa and Antioch. This involves, of course, independence from Antioch's superior at Rome ; so, from the Catholic point of view, it seems that we must date the Persian Church as schismatical since the Synod of Markabta.¹ What the synod declared was that " Easterns shall not complain of their Patriarch to the Western Patriarchs : every case that cannot be settled by him shall await the tribunal of Christ." ² It is significant that the title Patriarch is used here *for the first time* for the Persian Katholikos, that he is thus put on an equality with the Western Patriarchs. That already is schismatical. We do not hear that Edessa or Antioch at the time made any complaint of this infringement of their rights. By the time they heard of it they were already in the turmoil of Nestorianism ; the insolence of a remote mission probably did not much trouble them. But for the unhappy Persian Church the act of Markabta was tragically important. The little ship left the harbour and sailed out alone into the coming storm. She, like England in 1559, " hazarded herself to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects and divisions." ³ She was so overwhelmed and drowned almost immediately.

¹ A real issue is involved in this. No doubt the Persian bishops before 424 had but little consciousness of the Papacy. That was a very remote power ; the furthest of the " Western Fathers " would be the Roman Bishop. But the situation was correct as long as they recognised Edessa. Edessa was under Antioch ; Antioch acknowledged Rome as the first Patriarchate (*Orth. Eastern Church*, chap. ii. *passim*). In an ordered hierarchy it is enough to acknowledge your immediate superior ; he himself carries the line further, and so to the centre.

² Chabot : *Synodicon Orientale*, 51, 296.

³ Archbishop Heath in the House of Lords in 1559 (Phillips : *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, London, 1905, p. 74).

Dadyeshu' reigned thirty-five years (421-456); meanwhile King Yazdagird II (438-457) continued a violent persecution, and the already great number of Persian martyrs was mightily increased.¹ Already, under Dadyeshu', we see the first beginning of Nestorianism. His successor Babwai² was Katholikos, or Patriarch, as they now also called him, from 456 to 485. Under him Bar Šaumâ begins his career and introduces the heresy into Persia. So we have arrived at last at Nestorianism, and must now go back and consider its origin at Antioch and Constantinople before we tell of its adoption by the East Syrians.

Summary

This chapter is concerned with the preparation of the Nestorian sect, with those people who later became Nestorians, in their earlier Catholic period. These are the people of Eastern Syria. They are Semites by blood and language, but have been bandied about by many foreign Powers. When Christianity appears, the frontier of the Roman Empire and the kingdom of Persia goes through their land. There is practically unceasing war between these two Powers. The little kingdom of Osroene (capital Edessa) keeps its independence till 216, then is conquered by Rome. Eventually the Moslems come (7th century), and sweep away both the old rivals.

The first centre of East Syrian Christianity is Edessa. The faith was preached here already in the 2nd century. A pretty legend tells of a correspondence between our Lord and King Abgar the Black, and of the portrait of our Lord painted by Abgar's scribe. Addai is the traditional Apostle of Edessa. This city then becomes naturally the Christian metropolis of East Syria. Bardesanes the Gnostic, Tatian, who made a digest of the Gospels, and St. Ephrem of Syria are the best-known names in its history. From Edessa the faith spreads to Persia. Tradition gives us the name of Mari, Addai's disciple, as the Apostle of Persia. Afrahaṭ, the Persian sage, is the one early Father of this missionary Church.

¹ For Yazdagird II's persecution see Labourt: *op. cit.* pp. 126-130; Wigram: *op. cit.* pp. 138-141.

² Babwai or Babai, Greek *Βαβαῖος*, Babæus.

In the 4th century, Papa, Bishop of the Capital (Seleucia-Ctesiphon), takes the first step towards the primacy of his see. Under the Sassanid kings, especially Shapur II, the Persian Church is fiercely persecuted. Later synods confirm Seleucia-Ctesiphon as metropolis, and at last in 424 the way is prepared for the heresy which will overwhelm the Persian Church, by a declaration of independence of any Western authority.

CHAPTER III

NESTORIANISM

NESTORIUS was not an East Syrian. He was a Greek-speaking Antiochene, who proclaimed his heresy at Constantinople. He had nothing whatever to do with Edessa or Persia ; there is no evidence that he could even speak Syriac.¹ It seems, then, strange that his ideas, denounced and rooted out in their home, should become the official form of East Syrian Christianity for so many centuries. What is the special attraction of Nestorianism for East Syrians ? Is there any inherent tendency towards "dividing Christ" in the Edessene mind ? Hardly. We shall see reasons for this phenomenon as we go on. Meanwhile, here are two points to note at once and remember throughout : (1) the acceptance of Nestorianism in the East and in Persia was very largely a corollary of its rejection by the Empire ; (2) Monophysism, the extreme contrary heresy, began almost as soon as Nestorianism. A great deal of East Syrian Nestorianism is at first only a vehement denial of Monophysism. In Syria these two often seemed the only alternatives between which a man must choose. During the centuries of discussion that come before crystallization in two lifeless heresies, while these were burning questions and not (as now) the mere shibboleths of rival "nations," a Nestorian considered all his opponents Monophysites, a Monophysite called his contradictor a Nestorian. So in Syria the two heresies struggled and argued, while far away to the West the decrees of Chalcedon obtained without question, and Rome

¹ He speaks and writes Greek always.

taught the faith of the Apostles, which is neither Nestorianism nor Monophysism.¹

1. Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus (431)

It is not necessary to tell yet again all the details of the story of Nestorius and his heresy. This forms a prominent chapter in every Church history. Our purpose is rather to leave the main stream, so often described, to explore the less-known backwaters, namely, these schismatical Churches after they had left the Catholic body, during the long centuries they have lingered in their pathetic isolation. Still, one must begin somewhere : we can hardly do so otherwise than by outlining the original Nestorian story.

The story of a heresy is that of certain theological ideas, though often other factors enter into it very considerably.² We must remember that these two great heresies of the 5th century, Nestorianism and Monophysism, together make up one story ; they are one controversy about the nature of the union of divinity and humanity in Christ. That controversy followed the Trinitarian discussion (Arianism) at once. At its head stands Apollinaris of Laodicea ; St. Athanasius had not yet done with the Arians when he heard of and refuted Apollinaris.

At the head of this long and bitter controversy I put the statement of Mgr. Duchesne : " Since the curiosity of men would investigate the mystery of Christ, since the indiscretion of theologians laid on the dissecting-table the Blessed Saviour, who came

¹ *E.g.* : Joh. i. 14 ; 1 Joh. ii. 22 ; iv. 3, 15 ; Phil. ii. 6-7 ; Rom. ix. 5 ; 1 Cor. ii. 8 ; Acts iii. 15, deny Nestorianism. Luke xxiv. 36 *seq.* ; 1 Tim. ii. 5 ; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22 ; Heb. iv. 15, etc., deny Monophysism.

² For instance, all through the Nestorian and Monophysite quarrel there is the old rivalry between Egypt on the one hand and Antioch and the East on the other—Constantinople generally taking sides with Antioch. So St. Cyril of Alexandria, who deposed Nestorius (of Antioch and Constantinople) at Ephesus in 431, was the nephew, pupil and successor of Theophilus of Alexandria, who deposed St. John Chrysostom (of Antioch and Constantinople), Nestorius's predecessor, at the Oak-tree Synod in 403. But Rome, in spite of her old alliance with Alexandria, kept clear of this political issue. She opposed Alexandria in Theophilus's time, defended her in that of St. Cyril, opposed her again when Dioscor took up and exaggerated Cyril's cause.

to be the object of our love and of our imitation rather than of our philosophical investigation, at least this investigation should have been made peaceably by men of approved competence and prudence, far from the quarrelsome crowd. The contrary happened. An unloosing of religious passion, a series of quarrels between metropolitans, of rivalries between ecclesiastical prelates, of noisy councils, imperial laws, deprivements, exiles, riots, schisms—these were the circumstances under which Greek theologians studied the dogma of the Incarnation. And if we look for the result of their work, we see at the end of the story the Eastern Church incurably divided, the Christian Empire broken up, the successors of Mohammed crushing under foot Syria and Egypt. This was the price of those metaphysical exercises.”¹

Let us also notice this : supposing there had been no such discussion, supposing we could entirely forget the storms that raged around Ephesus and Chalcedon, any reasonable person now would admit that the Catholic solution is the only possible one, on the basis of the divinity of our Lord. Jesus Christ is God and man. That is the old faith held in peace by the Christian commonwealth long before these fatal discussions began. “The Word was God. The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us.” It follows, then, inevitably that in him divinity and humanity both exist, “in whom dwells all the fulness of divinity in the body.”² That was enough for earlier generations. But, if the prying Greek philosopher must ask further, what then ? Plainly that these two, divinity and humanity, are as intimately joined as they can be without destroying each other. They are as intimately joined as they can be. There is only one Jesus Christ. He, the same he, died on the cross who reigned with the Father before all ages ; the Jews “crucified the Lord of Glory.”³ He, the same Jesus Christ, who was born of Mary, said : “Before Abraham was made, I am.”⁴ To divide our Lord, then, into two destroys the whole idea of who he is. If there were two, the Lord of Glory would not have been crucified, he (the same Jesus) would not himself be God and man ; there would be he who is God, and (another person) he who is man. Shall we say that the

¹ *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* (Paris, 1910), iii. 323-324.

² Col. ii. 9.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 8.

⁴ Joh. viii. 58.

Word of God dwelt in Jesus? No, because then Jesus would be not the Word, but only the dwelling-place of the Word. The Holy Ghost dwells in us;¹ what man dares say that he *is* the Holy Ghost? But Christ *is* "God above all, blessed for ever."² So there is one Christ, God and man, having Godhead and manhood in one, joined in one, with no division or separation.

Can one go too far in this direction? Is there any conceivable limit to the close unity of our Lord's Godhead and manhood? Yes; however closely joined they are, we must not conceive these two as fused by a kind of amalgamation into one new substance; because then both, or at least one, would cease to exist. If you combine oxygen and hydrogen to make water, what results is neither oxygen nor hydrogen but a new substance, water. So our Lord's divinity and humanity both would cease to be, forming some new impossible thing that is neither divinity nor humanity. Instead of having both, he would have neither; he would be neither God nor man. The Monophysite rather conceived one as absorbed, not both. The divinity in this idea remained unchanged, but the humanity was absorbed into it, the human nature was, so to speak, swamped, lost in the infinite ocean of divinity. Then our Lord would have no true humanity; he would not be really man. All his human life, his birth, pain, death, would be a mere appearance, an illusion, a fraud—as the old Docetes had imagined. No; both divinity and humanity remain real, essentially different, though joined so closely in one Jesus Christ. We come, then, exactly to the faith of Chalcedon: "one and the same Christ, the only-begotten Lord, in two natures unconfused, unchanged, undivided, inseparable . . . keeping the property of each nature in one person."³ In other words, if our Lord is really God and man, he is one *person* (one single individual) in two *natures*, that of God and that of man. Is this the prejudice of a modern person who is anxious to avoid the pitfalls of Nestorius and Eutyches? I cannot conceive how it is possible to describe otherwise that Jesus Christ is God and man. It seems (supposing that one does not refuse to discuss the question altogether) the only possible way of saying it; and just this is the

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 19; iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

² Rom. ix. 5.

³ Denzinger, No. 148.

faith of the Catholic Church.¹ This exposition of the principle should be a useful reminder that after the bitter controversies of the 5th century, after all the mutual accusations, the unholy violence and unchristian methods of that time, the Catholic Church finally settled down in possession of the obviously right solution, the one to which a reasonable man must come in any case. Unhappily, the issue did not seem so clear then. Greek philosophical terms—essence, hypostasis, person—are hurled about by people who use them in different meanings; the confusion becomes still greater when even more difficult Syriac words take their place; we have the spectacle of a vast amount of energy (which might have been so much better spent) used in deposing bishops, appealing to Cæsar, raising an appalling turmoil with anathemas and counter-anathemas, all about an issue that ought not really to have caused any trouble at all.

The question of Nestorianism and Monophysism is often represented as one between the schools of Antioch and Alexandria. Antioch was the school of literal interpretation of the Bible; ² so, naturally, it insisted on our Lord's real humanity. This would perhaps lead to making him a merely human person, in whom the Word of God dwelt; that is Nestorianism. Alexandria was the centre of the defence of his divinity (St. Athanasius); so at Alexandria the divinity would be insisted on, till at last his humanity would be conceived as lost in it; so we have Monophysism.³ The beginning of the whole question is in the heresy of *Apollinaris of Laodicea* († c. 390). He is the first cause of all these Christological speculations. It was almost inevitable that during the Arian controversy people should begin to ask how we are to conceive God the Son as being both God and man. Apollinaris imagined an ingenious answer. Starting from the Platonic idea that man consists of three elements, *body* (σῶμα), *soul* (ψυχή, which gives us life and all we have in common with

¹ Harnack thinks that "the conception of a divine nature in Christ leads either to Docetism or to a double personality" (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Tübingen, 1910; iii. p. 277, n. 3). Nineteen centuries of Christian theology have not yet felt the force of this dilemma.

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 18.

³ So, e.g., Dr. W. F. Adeney: *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 94, and many others.

brutes and plants), and then *spirit* (πνεῦμα, our special prerogative, which gives us intellect and will), he explained that in Christ there are a human body and soul, but that the divinity takes the place of the spirit. Nearly all the Fathers of the 4th century enter the lists against this theory. Apart from its questionable basis of three principles in man, it denies to our Lord an element of perfect human nature. But he was like us in all things, except sin;¹ perfect God and perfect man. St. Athanasius († 373) wrote a treatise against Apollinaris.² A phrase attributed to him, but apparently really of Apollinaris himself, "One nature incarnate of the Word of God,"³ afterwards became a kind of watchword, first to St. Cyril of Alexandria, then to Monophysites. Its orthodoxy depends, of course (as in so many of these declarations), on the sense in which "nature" (φύσις) is used.

In Syria there was also a great opposition to Apollinarism. This took the form of insisting on our Lord's humanity. He is perfect man, has all that we have, except sin. Now it seems that the remote origin of Nestorianism is to be found in anti-Apollinarist zeal in Syria. Such an insistence might easily become an assertion that Christ had a human personality as well as his divine personality—was two persons, a man and the Son of God joined in some kind of moral union, the Son of God dwelling in a man. At any rate, the Nestorians, constantly reproach their opponents with being Apollinarists, and the opposite heresy, Monophysism, really is a kind of Apollinarism. It gathered up what was left of the Apollinarist sect.

Two Syrian doctors, masters of Nestorius, are always quoted as the remote source of his heresy. They are *Diodore of Tarsus* and *Theodore of Mopsuestia*. Diodore, founder of the Antiochene dogmatic school, was a contemporary of Apollinaris and one of his chief opponents. First priest at Antioch, then Bishop and Metro-

¹ Heb. iv. 15.

² *Contra Apollinarium*, lib. ii. (P.G. xxvi. 1093-1166). For Apollinaris see H. Lietzmann: *Apollinaris von Laodicea u. seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904; *Texte u. Unters.* i.); G. Voisin: *L'Apollinarisme* (Louvain, 1901); Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908), i. 606-608.

³ *Μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*. It occurs in the probably pseudo-Athanasian work, "Of the Incarnation of the Word of God." See Hefele-Leclercq: *Histoire des Conciles*, ii. 224.

politan of Tarsus in Cilicia (378–c. 394), he was a famous defender of Nicene orthodoxy during the Arian troubles. But in discussing the union of the consubstantial Logos with the man Jesus Christ, he evolved what we should describe as pure Nestorianism. There are two persons, the Logos (Son of God) and the Son of David. Not the Logos, but the Son of David, was born of Mary. The Son of David is the temple of the Son of God. The mystery of the Incarnation consists in the assumption of a perfect man by the Logos. The Logos dwells in this man as in a temple or a garment.¹ These ideas then became the usual ones in this school of Antioch. Its greatest representative, Theodore, took them up and defended them. Theodore, an Antiochene by birth, became Bishop of Mopsuestia² in 392, and died in 428.³ He was an old and faithful friend of St. John Chrysostom. His “Nestorianism” is open and avowed. The ideas of Diodore reappear in his works quite plainly: the man Jesus is only the temple of the indwelling Logos, and so on. He even anticipated the very point around which the quarrel of Nestorius turned, by objecting to the word *θεοτόκος*.⁴ For all that, he is one of the greatest exegetes in Greek theology, and his influence, especially in Syria, was enormous.⁵

We see then that, as often happens, Nestorius only gave his name to a heresy which existed before his time, which he himself had learned from his masters. His opponents knew this. Cyril sees Diodore and Theodore behind Nestorius clearly, and insists continually on their condemnation.⁶ So also the later Monophysites recognize in these doctors the source and origin of the doctrine (in its extreme form) which they abhor.⁷ On the other

¹ Marius Mercator (P.L. xlviii. 1146–1147), and Leontius Byzantinus: *adv. Incorrupt. et Nest.* (P.G. lxxxvi. 1385–1389), quote excerpts from Diodore containing these views.

² A small town in Cilicia, about twenty-three miles east of Adana.

³ Theodoret: *Hist. Eccl.* v. 39 (P.G. lxxxii. 1277).

⁴ Leontius Byz.: *op. cit.* iii. 10 (P.G. lxxxvi. 1364); Cyril Alex.: Ep. 69 (P.G. lxxvii. 340).

⁵ For the Christology of Antioch, of Diodore and Theodore, see Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1909), ii. 338–349; Tixeront: *Histoire des dogmes* (Paris, 1909), ii. 112–130.

⁶ E.g. Ep. 45 (P.G. lxxvii. 229); Ep. 69 (*ib.* 340); Ep. 60 (*ib.* 341).

⁷ The person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia formed the first of the famous “Three Chapters” condemned by Justinian to please the Monophysites, and by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

hand, it was especially the popularity of these two which caused the spread of Nestorianism in East Syria. Of Nestorius himself the theologians of Edessa and Nisibis knew little ; nor did they care much about him. But in the movement against him, in the decrees of Ephesus, they saw an attack against their revered masters, Diodore and Theodore ; they were (rightly) conscious of defending these. Often in later ages the Nestorians have protested that they are not the school of Nestorius, they are the school of Diodore and Theodore, of which Nestorius was also a pupil. They stand for the old school of Antioch ; it is a mere coincidence that one disciple of that school once became Patriarch of Constantinople, and there got into trouble with Cyril of Alexandria and his council at Ephesus. Still, among the Nestorians "Theodore the Interpreter" is the honoured master against whom they will allow no accusation.

Nestorius came to Constantinople from Antioch. He brought with him the ideas of his native city ; it was the clash of these with the traditions of Alexandria¹ that caused the Nestorian controversy. Now that we have cleared the ground, we may pass more quickly over the well-known incidents of the story. Nestorius had been a monk at the monastery of Euprepios ; then deacon, priest and preacher at the chief church of Antioch. He had a beautiful voice, was a famous preacher, and was known as an ardent disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia. When Sisinius I of Constantinople (425-427) died, Nestorius's already great reputation secured to him the succession of the Imperial See. The people thought they had secured from Antioch a second Chrysostom. Hardly was he consecrated when he showed great zeal against heretics—Arians, Macedonians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, and such like,—little thinking that his own name was to go down to history as that of a notorious arch-heretic. Already he had managed to offend many people² when the storm began. A priest, Anastasius, brought by Nestorius from Antioch, preached against our Lady's

¹ St. Cyril was very conscious that he only maintained and applied the principles of his great predecessor Athanasius (328-373). So he always appeals to and quotes Athanasius.

² Nestorius's tactlessness was one cause of his fall. He had offended the Pope (St. Celestine I, 422-432), by receiving the Pelagian leaders and demanding explanations of their condemnation.

title *θεοτόκος*. His arguments produced trouble in the city; Nestorius defended him. The title "Mother of God" was by no means new. St. Gregory of Nazianzos (†390) particularly had said: "If anyone does not receive the Holy Mary as Mother of God, he is separated from the Godhead."¹ It was well suited to be the test of belief in our Lord as one person, and it became, as everyone knows, the immediate object of this controversy. The sermons in which Nestorius attacks this word show his heresy, his assertion of two persons (the mere man Jesus who was born of Mary, and the Word of God who dwelled in him), plainly.²

The dispute between the attackers and defenders of the word *theotókos* now became the chief question at Constantinople. Soon it spread throughout the East. It came to Egypt and disturbed the peace of the Alexandrine Patriarchate. St. Cyril of Alexandria (412-444), nephew and successor of the Theophilus (385-412) who had been St. John Chrysostom's enemy, predecessor of the future Monophysite leader Dioscor (444-451), appears as the champion of the *Theotókos*, the chief enemy of Nestorius. In his Paschal homily of 429 he explained that the Blessed Virgin is Mother of God,³ and then discussed the question again very clearly in a letter to the monks of the Nitrian desert. So far he refuted Nestorius's heresy without naming him. Nestorius made one of his priests answer this letter, and Cyril wrote to Nestorius blaming him for the disturbance, telling him that if only he would cease attacking our Lady's title peace would soon be restored. Nestorius answered back, and other circumstances helped to aggravate the quarrel.⁴ Cyril's second letter to Nestorius (Feb. 430) is the classical statement of the Catholic attitude on this subject. Dom H. Leclercq describes it as "Saint Cyril's

¹ Ep. 101 (P.G. xxxvii. 177).

² Translated by Marius Mercator, P.L. xlviii. 699-862. See quotations in Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, II. i. pp. 240-247.

³ *Hom. pasch.* 13 (P.G. lxxvii. 768-790). People who think that there is some subtle difference between "*θεοτόκος*" and "Mother of God" should notice that at the very beginning of the controversy Cyril uses the words "*μήτηρ θεοῦ*" as equivalent to "*θεοτόκος*" (*ib.* 777). We may surely assume that St. Cyril of Alexandria understood these words.

⁴ Nestorius undertook the defence of certain excommunicate Alexandrine clerks who had come to Constantinople.

masterpiece";¹ it became the most important document in all the later controversy.²

Nestorius had already written to the Pope (St. Celestin I, 422-432) about the affair. Cyril wrote too, exposing all that had happened and enclosing a number of documents as evidence.³ Both sides were now heated by the quarrel and were saying strong things about each other. Cyril also wrote to the Emperor (Theodosius II, 408-450), to his wife and sister. The Pope in a synod held in August 430 decided that Nestorius's teaching was heretical; he must retract in ten days or be deposed. Cyril was to carry out this sentence.⁴ However, the dispute continues, and is further embittered. Cyril in a synod at Alexandria (430) drew up twelve anathemas against doctrines held by Nestorians: "If anyone does not acknowledge that Emmanuel is truly God, that therefore the Holy Virgin is Mother of God, because she gave birth, according to the flesh, to the Word begotten of God the Father, let him be anathema," and so on.⁵ Nestorius answered with twelve counter-anathemas.⁶ In many of these he denounces opinions which he attributes falsely to Cyril.

At last the Emperor decided to summon a great council to settle the matter finally. He was inclined towards Nestorius, but saw that nothing but so extreme a measure as a general council could pacify the parties. It was to meet on Whitsunday (June 7) 431, at Ephesus. This is the *third general council* (Ephesus, 431) which condemned Nestorius. Nestorius arrived first with sixteen bishops and many soldiers. Then came Cyril with fifty bishops. Memnon of Ephesus had already assembled his forty suffragans and twelve Pamphylian bishops. Juvenal of

¹ *Hist. des Conciles*, II. i. p. 253.

² It is in P.G. lxxvii. 43-50; or see the summary in Hefele-Leclercq, *l.c.*

³ Ep. 11 (P.G. lxxvii. 79-86); Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* pp. 256-257.

⁴ From this time Cyril considers himself the Pope's representative in the East. He is formally recognized as such by the Council of Ephesus; Mansi iv. 1123: "The Alexandrine Cyril, who also holds the place of Celestin, most holy and most blessed Archbishop of the Roman Church." The Pope's letter had explicitly given to Cyril "the authority of our See." P.G. lxxviii. 93.

⁵ The twelve anathemas are quoted and explained in Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* II. i. pp. 269-278.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 280-284.

Jerusalem and Flavian of Thessalonica arrived a few days late. On June 22 one hundred and ninety-eight bishops began the council. But John of Antioch and his suffragans had not yet arrived. The fact that they did not wait for him is the great difficulty of the story of this council. It is said that Cyril knew he was friendly to Nestorius and hurried on the proceedings, so as to have Nestorius condemned before he came. On the other hand, John had written a friendly letter to Cyril; two of his suffragans had hurried forward and brought a message that the council was not to wait for him, but was to begin and do its best without him.¹ Perhaps Cyril thought that John delayed on purpose, so as not to be present at his friend's humiliation. And they had already waited sixteen days for him. Cyril presided, expressly as Papal legate.² The Pope had sent other representatives to Ephesus—two bishops, Arcadius and Proiectus, and a deacon, Philip, with orders to follow Cyril's guidance in everything; but they did not arrive till the second session. The Emperor's Commissioner Candidian wanted to wait for John of Antioch; but the Fathers rejected his proposal. The first session was held in the famous double church of Ephesus. Nestorius refused to appear. Cyril's second letter to him was read and judged conformable to the faith of Nicæa. A great number of texts of Fathers were read, and then passages from Nestorius which contradicted them. The Pope's condemnation of Nestorius was read too. Nestorius was condemned and deposed. Candidian, who had come from the Emperor hoping to save Nestorius, was much disappointed.

Then, on June 26, the caravan of John of Antioch with his thirty bishops rolled into the streets of Ephesus. The Council at once sent to him to inform him of what had been done; but now he refused to have anything to do with it. With Nestorius, Candidian, and altogether forty-three bishops he holds a rival synod at his own house. This rival synod excommunicates Cyril and his followers; these denounce John and his. Both sides appeal to the Pope and Emperor, and a long quarrel follows.

¹ *Ib.* p. 296. The fact that John of Antioch had begged the synod not to wait for his arrival, but to begin without him, is of great importance in judging the Council of Ephesus. It is examined and proved by many texts in M. Jugie: *Nestorius*, p. 49.

² Above, p. 63, n. 4.

I pass over the details of this quarrel. The Emperor tried to reconcile the parties; then affected to depose John, Nestorius, Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus. Eventually he was persuaded that Cyril was right, he let him go back to Egypt, and allowed a new Bishop of Constantinople, Maximian (431-434), to be ordained in place of the deposed Nestorius.¹ This means the triumph of St. Cyril's theology in the great Church. From now Nestorianism is a heresy condemned by a general council,² soon to become the teaching of a schismatical sect.

2. The End of Nestorius. Was he a Heretic?

After his deposition Nestorius practically disappears from history. In 435 he was banished to a distant monastery at the bottom of the Libyan desert. Here he spent his last years writing his defence under a pseudonym; and he died on the eve of the Council of Chalcedon.³

Among Protestant writers there is often a tendency to rehabilitate people whom the Church has condemned, to declare that an alleged heretic was grossly misrepresented, was really a person of irreproachable views falsely accused of heresy because of some political intrigue. Of no one has this been said so persistently as of Nestorius. His defence is not a new idea. For many years it has been the fashion either to ridicule the whole controversy or to say that he and Cyril really agreed entirely—the question was only one of words; or that what Cyril taught was

¹ There were altogether seven sessions of Cyril's council at Ephesus. In the second the Roman legates appeared and made the famous declaration about the primacy which was accepted by the council (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 77). All the details of the Council of Ephesus will be found at length in Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, II. i. pp. 295-377. The story of Nestorius is summarized by Mgr. Duchesne: *Hist. ancienne de l'Église*, III. chap. x. pp. 313-388.

² Whatever one may think about the absence of John of Antioch when Nestorius was condemned, taking all bishops at Ephesus together, there was an overwhelming majority for St. Cyril—198 against 43. Even if John had come to Cyril's council and had done all he could, he could not have saved Nestorius.

³ The date and place of his death are uncertain—perhaps June 451, at Panopolis. His place of exile was changed several times. For the last years of Nestorius see M. Jugie: *Nestorius*, 56-62.

exactly the same thing as the later Monophysite heresy.¹ Then, it is alleged, the real reason of all this controversy was Cyril's jealousy of Nestorius; it is one incident in the long rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople (and Antioch). Nestorius's disgrace and deposition is merely a point gained for Alexandria. Cyril deposing Nestorius is a parallel case to Theophilus deposing St. John Chrysostom at the Oak Tree Synod in 403, and again to Dioscor of Alexandria deposing Flavian of Constantinople at Ephesus in 449 (p. 174); only, the first and third times Alexandria failed.

These ideas are not new: indeed, the defence of Nestorius has long been almost a commonplace of Protestant Church history.² They have received a new impetus, and have become one of the questions of the day, by the discovery and publication of Nestorius's apology. In exile at the end of his life he wrote this and called it *The Book* ³ of *Heraklides of Damascus*. Why Heraklides? Because Nestorius's own name was dangerous; his works were to be destroyed or burnt. He hoped, then, under this pseudonym to pass his apology. He wrote in Greek. The original is lost; but a Syriac version is preserved in the house of the Nestorian Patriarch. This is what has lately been published. The first we heard of it was in a book by Mr. Bethune Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching, a fresh examination of the evidence*.⁴ In this he did not publish the whole text, but used a copy procured by Mr. D. Jenks, formerly of the Anglican Mission at Urmi (translated by a friend), from which he makes extracts. On the strength of this, Mr. Baker produces an apology of Nestorius. Admitting the dogmatic decrees of Ephesus, he claims that Nestorius did not hold anything really opposed to them. What Nestorius attacked was

¹ This is the best of these ideas. Certainly you may slide easily from Cyril into Monophysism. The later Monophysites thought they were merely continuing his war against Nestorius.

² So Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed., Tübingen), ii. 339-368. He thinks that Cyril's theology is really Monophysite or Apollinarianist (pp. 352-355).

³ Mr. Bethune Baker and others call it *The Bazaar of Heraclides*. Fr. Bejān, who first edited the Syriac text, and M. Nau, who first translated it, point out that this is a mistake. The Syriac word *Têgurîâ* corresponds to Greek *πραγματεία*, meaning affairs, treatise, book.

⁴ Cambridge, 1908.

Monophysism ; he was completely in accord with the faith of Chalcedon. And the technical terms used were ambiguous, understood differently on either side. This theory made some commotion. At first there were only Mr. Baker's deductions from the book as matter of discussion. Now the whole original text is published in Syriac by Fr. Bejān, a Lazarist missionary and recognized authority on Syriac literature,¹ and in a French translation by M. F. Nau, with introduction and notes,² so that anyone can test Mr. Baker's conclusions for himself. The conclusion will be, as both Nau and Bejān say, that this new defence of Nestorius is a failure as much as the older ones. The *Book of Heraklides* shows its author to hold just what his enemies said he held ; whatever may be said about the personal treatment of Nestorius by the Fathers of Ephesus, they did not misrepresent his doctrine ; if we accept the faith of Ephesus and Chalcedon, then Nestorius was a heretic.

In the first place, it is a mistake to suppose that the whole question depends on what he says in the Heraklides book. That was written at the end of his life, long after Ephesus. We have plenty of authentic earlier works by Nestorius³ in which his heresy is abundantly evident. The Council judged and condemned him on these ; it could not foresee what he would write years later. So, even if his *Book of Heraklides* were unimpeachable, we should only conclude that he had modified his doctrine at the end of his life. As a matter of fact, it confirms what he had said earlier. Nor is the whole dispute merely a quarrel about words. It is perfectly true that technical words, especially philosophical terms, may change their meaning or be understood by different people in different senses. It is always a mistake to judge a man's theory *merely* by the technical words he uses. We must study his context, the deductions he draws from them, his own explanations, to be sure of what he means. Nestorius is a heretic, not because he speaks of two hypostases, or even of two prosopa, in Christ, but because he explains this language in such a way as

¹ *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris, 1910).

² *Nestorius : le livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris, 1910).

³ Collected by Loofs : *Nestoriana* (Halle a. S., 1905) ; to these add the three homilies found by F. Nau, published in the appendix of his translation of the *Book of Heraklides*.

to make clear that he means just what we mean by two persons, two Christs—namely, Jesus Son of Mary, and the Word of God who dwelt in him.

The philosophical terms certainly need explanation; our judgement as to their correctness will depend on how the people who use them do explain them. Those which occur in this controversy are: οὐσία, φύσις, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον. In our later scholastic use these are simple enough. Οὐσία is essence, φύσις is nature, ὑπόστασις or πρόσωπον mean person. Therefore, in our Lord we see two natures (or essences)¹—that is, two οὐσῖαι, two φύσεις,² but one person (one ὑπόστασις, one πρόσωπον). In the 5th century it was not quite so clear. Οὐσία and φύσις meant the same thing, normally “essence” or “nature.” Yet St. Cyril makes the phrase “one incarnate nature (μία φύσις σεσαρκωμένη) of the Word of God” his axiom. Was he, then, a Monophysite? No, because the Word of God has one nature proper to himself, one infinite divine nature. And that nature is incarnate, σεσαρκωμένη, made flesh, itself undestroyed—as we should say, assumes a human nature. St. Cyril means what we mean. Then, does *hypostasis* necessarily mean *person*? By no means. The Latin *persona* originally meant an actor’s mask;³ then the part you play in a drama, as we say “*dramatis personæ*”; then the part you play in life, the responsible individual who eats, drinks, studies, marries and dies. When there is a collective individuality we talk about a “*persona moralis*,” as in the case of a corporation. The exact Greek equivalent of this is not ὑπόστασις but πρόσωπον.⁴ Φύσις (nature) and πρόσωπον (person), then, are fairly clear. *Hypostasis* is one of those words which lie between two others and may be understood of either. Etymologically it is nearer to φύσις. Ὑπόστασις exactly equals the Latin *substantia*, and substance (in scholastic use) is nature. Suppose, then, that a man or a school of philosophy uses φύσις of nature in general, of what we should call the “universal,” the abstract idea of humanity or

¹ In scholastic language, essence, nature, substance are the same thing.

² Or dual? δύο οὐσῖαι, δύο φύσεις.

³ The thing through which you speak or shout (*personare*).

⁴ Also originally an actor’s mask or a face.

whatever it may be ; and uses *ὑπόστασις* of the particular concrete nature of one man. Then he is quite right in saying that our Lord had two hypostases. He had two individual perfect natures, in either of which nothing was wanting. He was perfect God and perfect man. And if you insist very much on his manhood as complete and perfect, if you are specially on your guard against Docetism or Apollinarism, you will perhaps insist that in him, besides the divinity, there was a second human hypostasis, meaning a complete and perfect individual (not merely abstract or theoretical) human nature. So many orthodox Fathers speak of two hypostases in our Lord ; this was particularly the language of Antioch ; Nestorius might have said that, if that had been all, without offence. Eventually, it is true, *hypostasis* was considered the equivalent of the Latin *persona* ; so that now the Orthodox would consider it as scandalous to say there are two hypostases in Christ as to speak of his one *φύσις* :¹ It would be much more difficult to excuse Nestorius's expression : two *prosopa* in our Lord. But, even here, a word might be explained away. It is his perfectly clear explanation of what he means, his elaborate deductions and long arguments, that show him to be a heretic. First, there is his denial of the title *θεοτόκος*. Mary was not Mother of God ; her son was not God ; he was a man in whom God dwelt. So also Nestorius refused to admit such phrases as that God was born, God suffered.² He defended the idea of Theodore of Mopsuestia that necessarily every perfect human nature is a person, a man ; that therefore our Lord's humanity was a man, distinct from the Son of God.³ He refused to admit of

¹ In the Greek translation of the Athanasian Creed : *εἰς πάντως, οὐ συγχύσει φύσεων, ἀλλ' ἐνώσει ὑποστάσεων* (in the *Horologion*, Venice, ed. vii., 1895, p. 520). Mgr. Duchesne has a good note on the Antiochene, Alexandrine, and Western attitudes and terminology in his *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, iii. 319–323.

² In his answer to Cyril's second letter (Loofs : *Nestoriana*, Halle, 1905, p. 176). Certainly if Nestorius only meant that Mary was not the mother of the divinity, that the divinity was not born of her, and did not suffer, he is quite right. Mgr. Duchesne (*op. cit.* iii. 325) points out that the word *θεοτόκος* needs explanation. But Nestorius's detailed explanation makes his meaning clear enough : the man Jesus who was born and suffered was not God. Sometimes he was prepared to compromise about the *θεοτόκος* (Hefele-Leclercq : *Hist. des Conciles*, II. i. p. 263, and Loofs : *Nestoriana*, pp. 181, 184, 273, 302, 309, etc.).

³ See the text in Hefele-Leclercq, II. i. p. 240.

a "union" (ένωσις) between the divinity and humanity, and would only allow a "conjunction" (συνάφεια)¹ between God and man. He taught that the man Jesus was only the organ, instrument, temple, vessel, garment, of the Son of God.² His counter-anathemas to Cyril (p. 63) are quite enough to show his heresy; for instance, No. VII: "If anyone say that the man who was created from the Virgin is himself the Only-begotten who was born of the Father before the day-star, instead of confessing that he has a share in this name of Only-begotten only because of his being united to him who is by nature the Only-begotten of the Father . . . let him be anathema."³ At the beginning of the Council of Ephesus, during the preliminary discussions, Nestorius said: "Never will I call a child two or three months old God; because of this I will not communicate with you (Cyril)."⁴

Now, the *Book of Heraklides* only confirms all this. M. Jugie says it is one of the duller books that ever came from the hand of man.⁵ In reading F. Nau's excellent French version I did not find it so: indeed, it produces a good deal of sympathy with Nestorius. He protests with dignity against the way he had been treated; one has the impression of a respectable, well-meaning man, plainly always in good faith, who had been hardly used. The haste with which he was condemned and deposed at Ephesus, before his friend John of Antioch arrived, certainly seems regrettable. His keen interest in the later developments is curious. He is strongly in favour of his successor St. Flavian, and rightly indignant against the Monophysite Robber-Synod at Ephesus in 449 (see p. 173). Perhaps he might have accepted the decrees of Chalcedon and so have rehabilitated himself, had he lived. But meanwhile, in his *Heraklides Book*, in spite of all this, Nestorius is still emphatically a Nestorian. Throughout he assumes that hypostasis, person (πρόσωπον), and nature (individual and concrete nature) are exactly the same thing. If you start from

¹ See the text in Hefele-Leclercq, II. i. p. 239-240.

² Loofs: *Nestoriana*, pp. 168, 175, 205, 303, etc.

³ Hefele-Leclercq: *ib.* p. 282; but see the whole list.

⁴ *ib.* p. 293. Mr. Bethune Baker says that in this sentence θεός is the subject, and tries to excuse Nestorius, not, I think, with much success (*Nestorius and his Teaching*, pp. 79-80).

⁵ *Échos d'Orient*, 1911 (xiv.), p. 65.

this philosophic basis, you cannot possibly admit one person having two natures. Nor does he. In this book, as before, to Nestorius "Christ" denotes a composite being, or rather two beings, two persons joined together in a merely moral union, working together, much as we conceive the Spirit of God working with a prophet. There are two persons in the strict sense, two prosopa: "I say two natures, and he who is clothed is one, he who clothes is another; and there are two prosopa, of him who clothes and of him who is clothed."¹ There then emerges an artificial (double) prosopon of union, as a servant who represents his king may be said to be the king's prosopon, to act in the king's person.² The union of God and man in Christ is only a moral union, a union of love and will (not a natural, inseparable, physical union); the prosopon of union is one of "economy" (presumably as members of a corporation form one artificial person, a "persona moralis" by "economy"): "The natures³ joined by will receive their union, not in one nature, but to produce the union of will in a prosopon of economy."⁴ The body and the human nature of Christ are the temple and garment only of the Word of God.⁵ God and man in him are like the fire in the burning bush—fire and bush distinct.⁶ "Christ" (the morally united being), not the Word of God, has two natures.⁷ It cannot be admitted that the Word of God was born of a woman, died, was buried, rose again, and so on.⁸ Lastly, Heraklides gives the same insufficient compromise about the *θεοτόκος* as we have already noted in his earlier writings.⁹ "Show me," he says, "that God the Word was born in the flesh of a woman."¹⁰ "The

¹ Ed. Nau, p. 193; cf. pp. 268, 274, 183, etc.

² *Ib.* p. 52

³ He always supposes nature and person as the same thing.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 35; cf. 53, 63.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 139, 159.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 141.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 150.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 148. This point (a favourite with Nestorius) should make the issue, and his heresy, clear. We say: the Word of God certainly was born of a woman and died, though not in his divine nature. We adore him who was born of Mary and died on the Cross. But we could not adore him unless he were God. The Word was made flesh (that is, was born of a woman), and dwelt amongst us till he died, was buried, rose again.

⁹ Above, p. 69, n. 2.

¹⁰ *Heraklides*, ed. cit. p. 131. An unaccountably rash challenge. We have only to show him the fourth Gospel, i. 14.

Virgin is by nature mother of a man, but by manifestation Mother of God." ¹

Enough of these dogmatic discussions. We must go on to our proper subject, the history of the Nestorian sect. This rather long dogmatic excursus is inserted because of the discussion now going on as to whether after all Ephesus and the Catholic Church did not make a mistake from the beginning in excluding that sect. We have said perhaps enough to show that it is not so. Nestorius (one feels no animus against a respectable man whose cause, to us, is buried since fifteen centuries), in spite of the harsh treatment he received and his good qualities, taught a doctrine which cut away the very root of Christianity; namely, that God the Son himself, for us men and for our salvation, came down from Heaven, and was made flesh of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary, and was made man; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried. Nestorius's doctrine had to be rejected; the man who persisted in it could not remain a Catholic: and the people who glory in the fact that they hold his doctrines are, at least implicitly, heretics.²

3. Nestorianism in Syria

We left St. Cyril, having gained his cause, returning to Alexandria from Ephesus. Nestorius was deposed and banished, his successor was ordained. But the quarrel between Cyril and John of Antioch was not yet healed. John had gone back, still a partisan of Nestorius, sore and angry with Cyril. There was enmity between the two chief Eastern sees. The Emperor was distressed about this. From now the great question was the reconciliation of the Pontiffs of Alexandria and Antioch. The

¹ P. 173. She is by nature mother of one person, who is God and man, though, of course, her motherhood comes only from that person's human nature. No Catholic ever imagined that she gave birth to the divine nature.

² Many more quotations from the *Book of Heraklides* will be found in M. Jugie's article: "Nestorius jugé d'après le Livre d'Héraclide," in the *Échos d'Orient* for 1911 (vol. xiv.), pp. 65-75. For his life in general see F. Nau: *Nestorius d'après les sources orientales* (Paris, Bloud, 1911). Father Jugie has since examined the whole question in *Nestorius et la controverse Nestorienne* (in the "Bibliothèque de Théologie historique," Paris, 1912). See also J. P. Junglas: *Die Irrlehre des Nestorius*, Trier, 1912.

Pope also (Sixtus III, 432-440, successor of Celestin I) wrote and took steps to bring about this reconciliation. At first John would have nothing to say to it. The Eastern bishops on their way home held a synod at Tarsus in Cilicia, in which they renewed their excommunication of Cyril and his adherents. In 432 the Emperor (Theodosius II) wrote to John imploring him to make peace,¹ and to St. Simon Stylites, at that time venerated by everyone,² asking him to try and bring about a reconciliation. The imperial notary Aristolaus went to Antioch with the letter and found John more tractable. Then he went to Alexandria and discussed matters with Cyril. The basis of his proposals was that Cyril should not insist on his twelve anathemas (p. 63), and that John should drop Nestorius. It was on this general basis that union was at last achieved. Cyril's anathemas were felt to be harsh and offensive by many Syrian bishops; very sensibly, then, he let them be ignored, when John and his friends had agreed to an entirely sufficient and orthodox declaration. The negotiations took some time; we need not go into the details here.³ But two points may be noted. First, throughout the discussion Cyril appears as the superior. This is right and natural for several reasons; among others, Alexandria was then the second see in Christendom, superior to Antioch the third. So it is John who approaches Cyril and offers explanations and a creed to him, which Cyril eventually accepts. Secondly, in these discussions Cyril makes it clear that he does not deny two natures in our Lord. He denies that he in any way teaches Apollinarism, he acknowledges a perfect human soul in Christ, he says that the Logos *in his own nature* is certainly unchanging, not subject to human conditions.⁴ He explains that he never meant that our Lord's humanity came from heaven (is identified with the divinity): "One nature of the Son, *that is the nature of one* (μία φύσις, ὡς ἐνός) yet made human

¹ The letter is in Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, II. i. p. 385.

² St. Simon (Simeon) Stylites, †459, the most famous of the hermits who lived on a column. His column was about one day's journey from Antioch on the way to Aleppo, where the great monastery called after him (Kal'at Sim'ān) stands.

³ A full account will be found in Hefele-Leclercq; *loc. cit.* chap. iii. pp. 378-422.

⁴ So his letter to Acacius of Berrhœa; Mansi, v. 831-835

and incarnate.”¹ So Cyril is in agreement with the later decisions of Chalcedon ; he did not, as after his death the Monophysites pretended, belong to them.

The efforts of Aristolaus were crowned with success. John of Antioch sent to Cyril an orthodox declaration of his faith. He acknowledges the title *θεοτόκος*, with a correct explanation of it.² Further, he “recognized the deposition of Nestorius and anathematized his bad and pernicious novelties.”³ This is all that could be expected. Cyril was satisfied. John writes again a pleasant letter, beginning : “Behold, again we are friends.”⁴ Cyril answered him in a famous letter announcing complete reconciliation, beginning, “Let the heavens rejoice,”⁵ and in April 433 announced to the faithful of Alexandria that peace was now restored with Antioch.⁶ That is the happy end of this quarrel.

But not everyone was satisfied. In Syria three parties remained. First, the great majority, with the Pope, the Emperor, the faithful in the West and at Constantinople, were delighted that there was now peace. They accepted the Council of Ephesus and the word *θεοτόκος*. Nestorius had disappeared ; they rejoiced at the agreement between the two great Patriarchs—an agreement blessed by a still greater Patriarch far away, where the sun set over the Imperial City and the throne of Peter ; they argued reasonably that professions of faith that satisfied Cyril, John and Sixtus could satisfy a plain Christian man too. These are the great bulk of Christians, Catholic and Orthodox, till, alas ! long centuries later, Cerularius casts his shadow between them and Peter of Antioch vainly tries to prevent the great schism.⁷ Then there were extremists on either side. In Syria there were some who held, with what was already a formidable party in Egypt, that Cyril ought not to be reconciled with John. They saw in Cyril’s explanations a concession to the cause of Nestorius. They had declaimed so vigorously against the theory of two persons in Christ that they had come to suspect any distinction in him at all.

¹ From Cyril’s letter to Acacius (Ep. 40 ; P.G. lxxvii. 192–193).

² *Ib.* 172–173, quoted by Hefele-Leclercq, *loc. cit.* p. 396.

³ P.G. lxxvii. 173.

⁴ P.G. lxxvii. 247.

⁵ Ep. 39 : *Latentur cæli* (P.G. lxxvii. 173–182).

⁶ Mansi, v. 289–290.

⁷ *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 188–192.

He was one in every sense, one in nature too. These are the first Monophysites. We shall come back to them in Chap. VI. And, lastly, there were those who thought that John should not have been reconciled to Cyril. These are the old guard of incorruptibles from John's anti-synod at Ephesus. John had now condemned Nestorius and accepted the *θεοτόκος*. These would do neither. Their Patriarch had given in to "that Egyptian"; but they would not. They still held Nestorius for an injured saint, still denied our Lady's title, still clung to the theology of Diodore and Theodore. And these people, at last, are our Nestorian sect. From now the discussion within the Catholic Church is over; these Syrian anti-theotokians are condemned by a general council, they break communion with their Patriarch. Already they are a local heretical sect. So, leaving the further story of the great Church, we follow their fortunes down to the pathetic little body which still lingers in Kurdistan.

The Nestorian party, now in schism against its Patriarch John of Antioch, soon found its centre in the theological school of Edessa. When Nisibis was ceded to Persia in 363 a great number of Christians there came across the frontier to Roman territory at Edessa (p. 40). Here they greatly strengthened the old theological school, so that in 363 it became almost a new foundation. This school was already greatly devoted to the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia. We can, then, understand how, when the excommunicate Nestorians from Antioch came to Edessa, and told the Edessenes that Cyril of Alexandria had condemned Theodore's doctrine, had deposed a certain blameless Bishop of Constantinople because he held it; that John of Antioch, at first firm, had now given way to the Egyptian,—we can understand with what indignation the teachers and scholars at Edessa declared that they would not obey Cyril and John, that they were for Theodore and Nestorius. From now till it is closed in 489, the school of Edessa is the centre of Nestorianism in the empire. But the Bishop of Edessa was no Nestorian. Strangely enough, the authorized pastor of the Nestorian city was a strong adherent to Cyril. He was Rabbulâ,¹ rather a famous person. Rabbulâ was a convert, son of a Mazdæan priest. He had married a

¹ 'Ραβουλᾶς.

Christian wife, then had been made a Christian himself by Aca-cius of Berrhœa. His wife went to be a nun and he became a monk. In 412 he was ordained Bishop of Edessa. At Ephesus he took the side of his Patriarch, and was a member of John's anti-synod. But in 431 and 432, while at Constantinople on a visit, he was entirely converted to St. Cyril; from then he becomes one of the chief supporters of the genuine Council of Ephesus. He saw the danger of Theodore's works and wrote to Cyril denouncing them.¹ It was Rabbulâ who procured a decree from the Emperor ordering all books of Diodore and Theodore to be burnt. So there was great opposition to the bishop among the Nestorians at Edessa. The opposition was led by two men, Ibas² and Bar Şaumâ.³

Ibas was an ardent student of Theodore the Interpreter; he too had been at the anti-synod of Ephesus in Rabbulâ's following, but he was never converted to Cyril. Instead, he becomes a keen Nestorian and opponent of his bishop. Writing to a certain Mari in Persia,⁴ he denounces Rabbulâ as a turncoat and a tyrant. One of these letters of Ibas to Mari afterwards became the third of the famous "Three Chapters" condemned by Justinian to please the Monophysites.⁵ Ibas was excommunicated by Rabbulâ and remained leader of a schismatical party at Edessa till Rabbulâ died. Bar Şaumâ was the Rector or President of the Theological School; he, too, shared Ibas's ideas and took part in the schism against the bishop. For the rest, Rabbulâ was a zealous and deserving pastor of this troublesome flock. He was an enthusiast for right order and ecclesiastical discipline, though he had little enough of either in his distracted diocese. It is believed to be Rabbulâ who

¹ Rabbulâ's letter is among those of St. Cyril (Ep. 73; P.G. lxxvii. 347-348).

² Yihibâ ("given," Donatus).

³ "Son of Fasting"; in Greek Βασσουμάς.

⁴ There is considerable doubt as to who this Mari (Ibas's correspondent) was. He is called Bishop of Beth Ardashîr. Ardashîr is the Persian name for Seleucia; so he would be the Katholikos. But the Katholikos at this time was Dadyeshu' (p. 50). Labourt suggests that the word Mari in the address of Ibas's famous letter is not a proper name at all, but merely *Mâr* (Lord) with the suffix (= "my Lord"). The address might well be: "*luth mâri efiskufâ dbêth ardashîr*" (to my Lord Bishop of Ardashîr), which would be transcribed in Greek, εἰς Μάρω ἐπίσκοπον Βηθαρδασιρηνῶν, and Μάρω would be taken for a proper name. So the Maris of the "epistola Ibæ ad Marin" may be Dadyeshu' (*Le Christ. dans l'emp. perse*, p. 134, note).

⁵ See p. 202, below. It is in Mansi, vii. 241-250.

abolished the *Diatessaron* and substituted for it the four separate Gospels, in conformity with the rest of Christendom.¹ He died in 435. At once the Nestorians got their champion Ibas ordained as his successor. Now, there was naturally an anti-Nestorian party² opposed to him. They tried several times to get him deposed by the Emperor or the Patriarch, but did not succeed till the Robber-Synod of Ephesus in 449.³ This deposed him and set up one Nonnus in his place. It was at the Robber-Synod that Dioscor of Alexandria quoted Ibas as saying, "I do not envy Christ for becoming God, for I could do so too, if I wanted to"—probably a lie of Dioscor. Ibas was not altogether Nestorian as bishop; he was willing to admit the crucial word *Theotokos*, with an explanation. Besides, whatever the Robber-Synod did was bad, so Chalcedon restored him in 451.⁴ He died in peace in 457, and Nonnus then succeeded him lawfully. Ibas is one of the persons of this time whom one remembers with mixed feelings. First we think of him as a Nestorian, a schismatical opponent of Rabbulâ. Then when he has become bishop and has attracted the hatred of the Monophysites, we rather sympathize with him, and are glad that Chalcedon restored him. He is a typical case showing how difficult in Syria it is to draw the fine line between the two opposite heresies. Constantly we see that the men who oppose Nestorius are Monophysites, and the opponents of Monophysism take their stand by Theodore and Nestorius. After 451 the situation theoretically becomes clearer. Chalcedon gives a standard that is neither the one heresy nor the other. Unfortunately, hardly anyone in Syria was Chalcedonian; the two sides were Nestorian and Monophysite.

Bar Şaumâ, too, was exiled by the Robber-Synod and came back after Chalcedon. But after Ibas's death (457) a violent Monophysite reaction (under Nonnus) took place at Edessa; all the

¹ Above, p. 35; and Burkitt: *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 77.

² Rabbulâ's party. One hesitates to call them Catholic, because already they tend strongly towards Monophysism. It is the tragedy of this controversy in Syria that the opponents of Nestorianism nearly all go to the other extreme and defend pure Monophysism. Continually in Syria and Persia we see two, and only two, parties, Nestorians and Monophysites.

³ See p. 174.

⁴ He accepted the *Theotokos*, and denounced Nestorius at Chalcedon.

" Persian School " (the friends of Theodore and Nestorius) were expelled ; Bar Šaumâ crossed the frontier, became Bishop of Nisibis, and was the chief agent in making the Church of Persia Nestorian (p. 80). This is almost the end of Nestorianism in the empire. The other party, the Monophysites, now became enormously powerful in Syria. The long story of the troubles caused by them and the various attempts of the Government to reconcile them begins. We come back to this in Chap. VI. One of these attempts was that the Emperor Zeno (474-491) in 489 finally closed the School of Edessa (still a hotbed of Nestorianism) and banished all Nestorians from the Empire. They then went to swell the ranks of the heresy in the country which had already become its home—Persia. From now the story of Nestorianism is that of the Church of Persia. Before leaving Edessa, we may note that it now became largely Monophysite (Jacobite) and was the see of a Jacobite bishop. But the Nestorians had at intervals bishops there too, especially after the Moslem conquest of all the land put an end to the Roman law of banishment against them. The old line of bishops, Chalcedonian and Catholic, lasted till the 11th century. According to a common confusion, these are called the Greek bishops by the natives, as sharing the views of the Emperor at Constantinople. And the Crusaders for a time set up a Latin bishop there too ; so there was a Bishop of Edessa for every taste. This is the usual development in Syria and Egypt. At first the various sees were handed about between the parties, fought for by each, and we have alternate bishops of each side, depositions and banishments. Then the sects settle down as organized bodies, and, instead of a struggle between rivals for the one see, we have two or more lines going on at the same time, each, of course, claiming to be the only lawful pastor of the place. And it is often very difficult to say which is the old line.

4. Nestorianism in Persia

We left the national Persian Church in 424, having proclaimed herself independent of Antioch, already schismatical, open to any heresy that might attack her (p. 51). The heresy that did so was Nestorianism. It was natural that a Church which had so long

looked to Edessa for guidance should share Edessa's heresy. All this Persian Church was East Syrian in language and character ; her bishops had been brought up on Theodore and his ideas. So, almost as soon as the Nestorians made Edessa their centre, the effect of their teaching reached over the border to the daughter Church. Already the Persian bishops had learned to sympathize with Nestorius and hate Cyril. When, therefore, the empire became impossible for Nestorians, they found a fertile soil waiting for them across the frontier. Bar Ṣaumâ was the man who made Christian Persia Nestorian. He and the other exiles from Edessa poured into the country, hot with indignation against the Roman Government and the Council of Ephesus.

We saw how the School of Nisibis had been formed again at Edessa when the Persians took Nisibis in 363 (p. 75). Now the exact opposite took place. The Nestorian School of Edessa, driven from the empire, was reformed under Bar Ṣaumâ at Nisibis. Bar Ṣaumâ became Bishop of Nisibis, and lost no time in propagating his heresy. He was helped by the attitude of the Government. We have seen that the beginning of persecution in Persia was that the State feared co-religionists and friends of the Romans in its territory. As soon as it discovered that Bar Ṣaumâ and the Nestorians held a form of Christianity which was not that of the enemy, that they had been expelled from the empire just because of this new teaching of theirs, that they were bitterly hostile to Cæsar and Cæsar's religion, naturally, it welcomed the spread of this anti-Roman doctrine among its subject Christians. From now the Persian Government becomes the protector of Nestorians ; when the Persian Church turned Nestorian, there was hardly any more persecution. The king at this time was Pîrûz (457-484). Barhebræus ¹ tells a story which, though plainly calumnious, represents very well the kind of thing that happened. He says that Bar Ṣaumâ went to the king and said : " Unless the faith of Christians in your lands be different from the faith of

¹ For Barhebræus see p. 330. His great work is the *Syrian Chronicle* (ed. by Bejân : *Gregorii Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum*, Paris, 1890 ; the second part only ed. by Abbeloos and Lamy : *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1872-1876). This is a most important source for Nestorian and Jacobite history. We shall often have to refer to it. But his ardent Jacobite feeling makes him sometimes rather unfair to Nestorians.

Christians in Greek regions, they will never have a sincere heart and affection towards you. . . . If, then, you will give me soldiers I will make all Christians in your territory followers of that man (namely, Nestorius)."¹ Barhebræus then represents Bar Şaumâ as going about Persia with soldiers, persecuting and massacring all Christians who would not adopt his heresy.

It is certain the Bar Şaumâ was the chief propagator of Nestorianism in Persia, mightily aided by the refugees from Edessa in 489 (p. 78). Two other factors complicate the situation. The first is Bar Şaumâ's quarrel with the Katholikos. The See of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was then held by Babwai (457-484). He is said to have ruled badly; in any case the domineering Bishop of Nisibis fell foul of him and led an opposition against him. Then Babwai was caught holding treasonable correspondence with the Emperor Zeno,² and was hanged by his fingers till dead, in 484. Bar Şaumâ is believed to have had a hand in his death. In the same year Bar Şaumâ held a synod at Beth Lapat,³ which is generally counted the first Nestorian assembly in Persia. It made much of Theodore the Interpreter, declared that all should follow him, and denounced the faith of the Roman Empire. As the faith of the empire, or at least of that part of it known to Persians, was then largely Monophysite, it is difficult to say how far this means that the Fathers of Beth Lapat were Nestorian. We have here a case of what recurs throughout this period—vehement opposition to what seemed the only alternative (Monophysism), but some doubt to us whether that opposition meant to go as far as Nestorius. This synod introduces a second factor of considerable importance. All kinds of asceticism, especially celibacy, were very repugnant to Mazdæans (p. 25). So they much disliked vows of celibacy among Christians. Now, when a small Church is surrounded by unbelievers who are particularly opposed to one of its principles, one of two things will happen. Either the Christians in opposition insist all the more firmly on that very point, or, on the other hand, they may be influenced by their neighbours and may modify or discard the practice or

¹ Ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, iii. col. 66-68.

² He wrote the letter quoted on p. 46.

³ A metropolitan see over to the east, north of Susa.

doctrine in question. This is what happened in Persia. The Christians imbibed Mazdæan ideas against celibacy. Side by side with Nestorianism comes a second taint on the Church of Persia—the total abolition of celibacy of the clergy. Alone among the old Churches that of Persia dropped all laws of celibacy. This Synod of Beth Lapaṭ began. It declared marriage lawful for everyone, even for priests after ordination, even for bishops. And Bar Ṣaumâ set the example by marrying a nun.¹

But the Synod of Beth Lapaṭ was a schismatical act of Bar Ṣaumâ against the Katholikos. He hoped to become Katholikos himself after Babwai's execution. Probably, he would have done so ; but in that year his protector King Pirūz died (484), and he lost his chance. Instead Acacius² was appointed, as usual, by the king (Balash, 484–488). Bar Ṣaumâ would not recognize him. But in 485 another synod was held at Beth 'Adrai, and here he had to submit to him. The Synod of Beth Lapaṭ was annulled ; it has no place among the canons of the Nestorian Church. However, at Beth 'Adrai a confession was drawn up which is at least suspect of Nestorianism,³ and the abolition of celibacy was maintained. From now these two things go hand in hand throughout Persia. We may also notice that Zeno's *Henotikon* (482, below, p. 193) had just been published, so that, more than ever, Monophysism seemed the religion of the empire, and the only alternative. In 486 Acacius held another synod at Seleucia, in which he condemned Monophysism⁴ and renewed the abolition of celibacy. Soon after this Acacius was sent on an embassy to Constantinople. Here he declared that he was no Nestorian, had only rejected Monophysism, and was quite willing to excommunicate Bar Ṣaumâ. When he came back, Bar Ṣaumâ was dead (between 492–495), killed, it is said, by monks with the

¹ In 499 another synod declared that " the Katholikos and the minor priests and monks may marry one wife and beget children according to the Scriptures," Wallis Budge : *The Book of Governors*, i. p. cxxxii.

² Aḳaḳ, a fellow-disciple of Ibas at Edessa, also one of the Persians who fled from the empire. They all had wonderful nicknames ; Acacius was the " Strangler of Obsoles," Bar Ṣaumâ the " Swimmer among Nests," and so on (see Labourt, *op. cit.*, for a collection of these names, p. 132).

³ Quoted in Labourt : *op. cit.* p. 262–263.

⁴ The formula is in Labourt, pp. 147–148 ; it is correct from a Catholic point of view.

keys of their cells.¹ He was certainly a Nestorian, and had done all he could to propagate his heresy in Persia. Only, we may question how far during his life he had succeeded in committing the Church officially as far as he was prepared to go himself. Acacius, too, died in 495 or 496, and was succeeded by Babwai II² (497-502). This man marks almost the lowest degradation of the Persian Church. He could not even read, and he had a wife. In his time flourished Narse, one of the great lights of the Nestorians. The Jacobites call him Narse the Leper; to Nestorians he is the "Harp of the Holy Ghost." He was a friend of Bar Šaumâ, helped to found the school of Nisibis, and became its President. He died in 507. He wrote a great number of poems and sermons.³ Narse is quite openly a Nestorian. In his homily on the "three Doctors," Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius,⁴ he declares that our Lord is in two natures, two hypostases, and one prosopon. He undertakes a vehement defence of the virtuous Nestorius, who was betrayed for gold by enemies of the truth. For a time this state of things goes on. The Persian Church is vehemently anti-Monophysite; many of her bishops and writers are clearly Nestorian. Such was Rḥimâ of Arbela, who denounced Cyril and the "sacrilegious Synod of Ephesus."⁵ There was general sympathy with Nestorius and strong feeling in favour of all the theology of Theodore the Interpreter. But it is perhaps not till we come to formal rejection of the Council of Chalcedon that we can fairly brand the whole Church of Persia as Nestorian.

After the death of Babwai II in 502 follows another period of confusion. There are again rival Patriarchs⁶ and mutual ex-communications. At last we come to Mârabâ⁷ (540-552) and a reform. Mârabâ was of the school of Nisibis. He came to Constantinople between 525 and 533, and there refused to condemn Theodore and the Nestorian teachers. Having returned to Persia,

¹ Barhebræus, *ed. cit.* iii. 78.

² Babai or Babwai, really the same name.

³ Cf. Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, pp. 346-347.

⁴ Published by Martin in the *Journal asiatique* (July 1900).

⁵ Mshîhâzkâ, *ed. cit.* p. 144.

⁶ We may use this title from now as that of the Katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

⁷ Mâr-abâ, "Lord Father."

he travelled about his Patriarchate, put down abuses, notably that of incest, which the Christians had begun to copy from Mazdæans, and held reforming Synods. But for his doubtful attitude about the heresy, he was in every way an excellent prelate. During his reign there was another persecution, result of a war against the empire in 540-545, but less fierce than that of Shapur II. Mârabâ himself was arrested, imprisoned a long time, and finally died of the treatment he had received (552). Labourt describes him as a "glorious confessor of the Faith, the light of the Persian Church, to which he left the double treasure of blameless doctrine and a model life."¹

In order to finish this account of the introduction of Nestorianism in Persia let us go at once to the 7th century. It was the time when Islam overturned the old Persian kingdom, when also Persian Christianity definitely received the form it has kept down to our own time. Mâr Babai, called the Great, was abbot of the monastery of Izla (569-628). During one of the constant vacancies of the Patriarchate especially, he had enormous influence, most of all in the North. Already the Persian Church had long been troubled by various heresies (p. 89); the condemnation of the Three Chapters in the empire (202) was to Persians an unpardonable attack on their heroes, Theodore and Ibas. Babai was a theologian and a writer. Against Monophysites and other heretics he wrote treatises which his countrymen have accepted ever since as representing faithfully their doctrine. His *Book of the Union* (namely, the union of Godhead and manhood in Christ)² represents the teaching of this Church as it was fixed finally in the early 7th century, as it is still. It is Nestorian. Babai admits a certain *communicatio idiomatum*,³ but only because of the "proposon of union." He will not admit one united (συνθετός) hypostasis. The hypostasis of the Logos cannot assume another

¹ *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 191. For Mârabâ's life and reign, see *ib.* 163-191.

² It will be published in Chabot's *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. Meanwhile it is resumed in Labourt: *op. cit.* 280-287.

³ The *communicatio idiomatum*, admitted by the Catholic Church, means ascribing to the one person, Christ our Lord, the properties of both natures, as when we say that God the Son was born of Mary, died on the cross, the immortal became mortal, a man is Almighty God, and so on. To deny such language was always, obviously, a test of Nestorianism.

hypostasis. Our Lord's human nature is the garment, temple of the Logos. He will not admit the term *θεοτόκος*, nor the Council of Chalcedon.¹

That is still the position of the Nestorian Church. They never allow the word *θεοτόκος*; it has no place in their liturgy. It is not easy to say when they rejected the Council of Chalcedon. Perhaps it is more true to say that they never accepted it.² The present Nestorians reject Ephesus and Chalcedon. This, then, is enough to show that they deserve their name. Further, they honour Nestorius as a saint in their liturgy, together with Diodore and Theodore.³ So it is clear that if they are to become Catholics they must not only give up their schismatical claim of independence from any earthly authority over their self-styled Patriarch; they must also be converted to the faith of Ephesus and Chalcedon, they must accept the term *θεοτόκος*, and renounce Nestorius at least, if not Diodore and Theodore. In a word, this unhappy little sect is not only schismatical but heretical too.⁴

We saw that the Greek words used in the Nestorian controversy are sometimes ambiguous and add to the confusion by the fact that we are not always sure what the people who use them mean (p. 68). Much more is this the case when these already ambiguous terms are translated into what are supposed to be, more or less, their Syriac equivalents. There is so much discussion as

¹ See the texts quoted by Labourt, *loc. cit.*

² Yeshū'yab II (628–643) declared Chalcedonians to be heretics; see p. 90.

³ See, e.g., Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 279.

⁴ Let us note at once that in the case of all these Eastern Churches, indeed as a general rule, it is the *schism* that matters really more than the *heresy*. It is schism that makes heresy so great an evil. For you may think what you like about theological questions, as long as you do not deny what is a *condition of communion* with the Catholic Church. It is preferring your own opinion to communion with the Church of Christ which forms the essential guilt of heresy. Heresy is wrong because it causes schism. The schism which results is the root evil of heresy. If there were no schism it would be not heresy but a harmless theological mistake. And the schism is what lasts and is deplorable for centuries. No one now gets hot over *prosopon* and *hypostasis*; but the Nestorians suffer still from their tragic isolation, their schism from the rest of Christendom. A convert gives up his heresy because it involves schism: he wants not to be in schism, and for that reason he accepts all that is a condition of communion with the Catholic Church.

to these technical Syriac words that we may end this chapter by a summary explanation of them.

From the root *īth* (*esse*)¹ we have *īthyā* and *īthuthā*. These mean simply essence, nature (*οὐσία*).² Only a Monophysite would deny that there are two *īthuthe* in Christ.

Parṣufā is *πρόσωπον* transcribed, a foreign word used only to represent the Greek. We saw that Nestorius admitted one "prosopon of union" in our Lord (p. 71). So the Syrian Nestorians speak of one *parṣufā*, keeping rather the idea of a *mask* which covers the two personalities.³ The meaning of these two words, then, is fairly clear. There is nothing to complain of in their use by these people. Nor is there any particular difficulty about the word *kyānā*.⁴ This means *nature*, and corresponds exactly to *φύσις*. The Monophysite, of course, says that there is one *kyānā* in Christ; we shall not quarrel with the Nestorian who says there are two. The last word, the most difficult, is *ḵnumā*.⁵ They use this for the Greek *ὑπόστασις*; and just as that word is the difficult and ambiguous one in Greek (p. 68), so is *ḵnumā* the great contention in Syriac. All Nestorians say there are two *ḵnume* in our Lord. That is their formula: two *kyāne*, two *ḵnume*, one *parṣufā*. The question, then (just as in the case of hypostasis), is what they mean by their *ḵnumā*. If it means merely a real, individual nature (as opposed to a universal concept), they agree with us; if it means what we mean by "person," their phrase "two *ḵnume*" is pure Nestorianism.⁶ But, once more, it is not because of their use of abstruse Syriac terms that we called modern Syrians heretics. It is because they reject the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, because they deny the standard

¹ Hebr. *Yeš*.

² Except that *īthyā* is originally (and generally) concrete, *īthuthā* always abstract.

³ So Babai the Great. See his explanation quoted by Labourt, *op. cit.* 284-285.

⁴ From *kān*, "to be" (Arabic *kāna*, Hebr. *kān*).

⁵ Derivation very doubtful. The Syrians treat *ḵ-n-m* as a root, and form stems of a verb from it; so Ethp. *ethḵanam*. Ar. *'aḵnūm*, is simply derived from Syriac.

⁶ An explanation of these terms, with illustrations of their use by Syriac writers, will be found in the appendix of J. F. Bethune Baker: *Nestorius and his Teaching*, pp. 212-232.

Catholic word θεοτόκος,¹ because they abhor the teaching of Cyril the Egyptian and glory in their faithfulness to that of the blessed Mâr Nestorius, that we say they are Nestorians.

Summary

In this chapter we have considered the rise and spread of the Nestorian heresy. Nestorius of Constantinople taught the new theory that our Lord Jesus Christ was not one person, that Jesus was a man in whom dwelt the Word of God. So, consistently, he denied that our Lady is Mother of God. His opponent was St. Cyril of Alexandria. The third general council (at Ephesus in 431) condemned his heresy, affirmed our Lady's title, deposed and banished Nestorius. He died in exile, keeping his ideas to the end. For a time the Patriarch John of Antioch supported him and was an enemy of Cyril. Eventually John accepted the decrees of Ephesus and was reconciled. But Nestorius had left a party in Syria, chiefly because of the great influence of his masters Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. This party, then, in schism against their patriarch (John of Antioch) and all the rest of Christendom, formed the beginning of the Nestorian sect. For a time they were strong at Edessa, and from Edessa already began to influence the Church of Persia. In 489 the Emperor Zeno closed their headquarters, the theological school of Edessa, and banished Nestorians from the empire. They then went over the frontier into Persia and spread their teaching there. Bar Šaumâ, Bishop of Nisibis, was the chief propagator of Nestorianism in Persia; at Nisibis the heresy made a new school and new headquarters. So step by step the Church of Persia (already in schism) fell a victim to this teaching. By the 7th century at latest it is officially committed to the doctrine of Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius. From that time what was once the Catholic Church of Persia has become the Nestorian sect. To estimate this it is not really necessary to discuss the exact meaning of obscure Greek and Syriac terms. These people are Nestorians

¹ Syriac *Yâldath allâh*; Ar. *wâlidatu-llah*. These are the corresponding terms used in the Semitic liturgies.

because they admit, they glory in the fact, that they stand by what Nestorius taught.¹

¹ If it be said that they do this under a misunderstanding, that they do not themselves understand what Nestorius taught, this is no doubt true in most cases. A modern Nestorian priest, or even bishop, probably understands very little about the philosophy of nature and person. But this does not save their position. They know quite well that all Christendom outside their body accepts Ephesus and rejects Nestorius, that they are in schism with everyone else because they will not do so. And they prefer the teaching of this one man to that of all the rest of Christendom ; they prefer to be in schism rather than give up Nestorius. That is the very essence of heresy.

CHAPTER IV

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH IN THE PAST

THE branch which does not remain in the vine shall wither. This did not happen at once to the Nestorian Church. On the contrary, for a time it still flourished conspicuously. It was a great factor of civilization in Persia under the Moslem, and it sent out most wonderful missions all over Asia. Yet the cause of withering was there all the time, and gradually it began to produce its effect. This Church was now cut off from communion, from almost any intercourse, with the West, where Christianity was the leading power. Isolated, surrounded by an alien faith and an alien civilization, it sank gradually till it became a poor little group of families in Kurdistan, harassed and persecuted by all its neighbours. It will be clearest to take the various points of its history separately.

1. General History

Here we trace in outline the external development of the Nestorian Church down to our own time.

We left Mârabâ Katholikos and Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (540-552; p. 83). The local title (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) now becomes less important, is gradually almost forgotten. The primates changed their seat constantly. Meanwhile the office of Katholikos (now always assumed to be a Patriarchate, like those of Antioch, Alexandria, etc.) had become a thing apart. The Katholikos, wherever he might be, was simply the head of the Nestorian Church. We shall see his titles below (p. 131). Meanwhile we may call him simply the Nestorian Patriarch. Mârabâ was a zealous reformer (p. 83). After him follows a line of

Patriarchs of whom there is nothing particular to say. Each held a synod at his election or nomination, according to what had become the invariable custom ; and there was the usual series of quarrels, rivalries and depositions, either successful or not.¹

From the 6th century the official Nestorian Church was troubled by the presence of heretical bodies. First among these we must count the Jacobites (Syrian Monophysites). The opposite heresy was much stronger in West Syria, as we shall see in Chapter X. Then, when it became an organized sect, it pushed towards the East and entered Persia. The Persia Government troubled not at all about these quarrels among Christians. We may reserve the account of Jacobitism in Persia till we come to that sect (p. 329). Here it is enough to say that the Jacobites eventually set up a smaller rival hierarchy in Persia and remained a permanent opposition to the Nestorians. There were other rivals too.

The *Masalians* are a sect who appear in the East from the 6th to about the 12th century. Their name means "people who pray," "orantes";² so in Greek they are εὐχόμενοι, εὐχίται. Epiphanius († 403) already mentions a sect of Masalians,³ who may be the same people. According to him they came to Syria from Mesopotamia. Their heresy consisted in denying baptism and all sacraments, admitting only prayer as the means of obtaining grace, rejecting any kind of hierarchy, claiming to be themselves wholly spiritual and perfect. They are clearly one form of the widespread Paulician sect. These people gave trouble to the Nestorians, as to all Eastern Churches. They were strong in Adiabene, and especially in the Shiggar mountains between the Tigris and the Euphrates, south of Nisibis. So there are canons in Persia made against the "false Masalians"; sometimes these people were converted. The *Henanians* are more difficult to understand. They are supposed to have been founded by one Ḥnânâ of Adiabene, head of the School of Nisibis in the early 6th century. They became a considerable

¹ Labourt gives notices of each of the Patriarchs. For those between Mārabā and the Moslem conquest (*scil.* 552-637) see *op. cit.* pp. 192-246; also Wigram: *The Assyrian Church*, pp. 210-264.

² Mšalyāne from šlā; pa'el: šallī (Ar. šalla), to pray.

³ "Μασσαλιανοὶ οὗτοι καλοῦνται ἐρμηνευμένοι." *Hæv.* lxxx. 1-3 (P.G. xlii. 755-762).

party, especially at Nisibis. Many Nestorian writers inveigh against the Henanians. Their chief opponent was Babai the Great (p. 83); canons were drawn up against them.¹ According to Babai they were Origenists, Fatalists, Pantheists. But a significant point is that, among their other crimes, they accepted the Council of Chalcedon and the teaching of St. John Chrysostom rather than that of Theodore of Mopsuestia. So a doubt occurs: were these Henanians really anything but Catholics among the Nestorians?

King Chosroes² II (590–628) made war on Rome, captured Jerusalem, and took away the Holy Cross. He appointed Sbaryeshu' I Patriarch (596–604). Sbaryeshu'³ was a monk who enjoyed a great reputation for piety. As Patriarch he ruled firmly and well, took steps to put down heresies, and spread the faith among idolaters in outlying parts of the kingdom. He was, of course, not allowed to make any propaganda against the State religion. In 603 he was made to accompany the Persian army and pray for its success. But this was less distressing to him than it would have been to his early predecessors, since, as a Nestorian, he looked upon the Romans as heretics.⁴ Chosroes II began a fitful persecution of Christians, the last they had to suffer from the old Persian monarchy; there were some martyrs at this time. Sbaryeshu' I was succeeded by Gregory (605–609). Then, because of the persecution, there was a long vacancy (609–628). At Chosroes' death peace was restored to the Church. Heraclius (610–641) won victories which frightened the Persian Government. Yeshu'yab II became Patriarch (628–643), and was sent as ambassador to Heraclius in 630. Arrived at the Emperor's court he made a Catholic profession of faith and was admitted to Communion. On his return to Persia he was violently attacked for this, and for a time his name was struck from the Nestorian diptychs.⁵ But this was only a passing phase. He had condemned Chalcedon in his profession of faith already.⁶

Yeshu'yab II saw the great change which now came over the

¹ So in Sbaryeshu's first synod, 596 (Labourt: *op. cit.* p. 215).

² Husrau.

³ "Hope in Jesus."

⁴ For the reign of Sbaryeshu' I and his works, see Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 441–449; Labourt: *op. cit.* pp. 210–221; Wigram: *op. cit.* pp. 221–224.

⁵ Labourt, p. 243.

⁶ *Ib.* note 4.

country. The Sassanid monarchy of Persia was at its last gasp. In 632 Yazdagird III began his unhappy reign. In 634 the Moslems under Ḥalid first invaded Persia. In 635 they won the battle of Kadesia and took Seleucia-Ctesiphon. In 642 they won their "Victory of Victories" at Nehāwand. Yazdagird fled, and was murdered in 651. The old Mazdæan State came to an end, and now the Moslem ruled all Persia. The Mazdæans, so long oppressors of Christians, were now themselves oppressed. They, too, like the Christians, became a *rayah* under the Khalif. Vast numbers turned Moslem; so that the old Persian religion is now represented only by a few so-called gebers¹ in Persia, and by the Parsi exiles in India.

The Christians had no reason for loyalty to the Sassanid Government. On the contrary, the Moslem invaders were much nearer to them in religion, had on the whole a higher civilization, and offered, at any rate then, better terms to Christians under their rule. So we hear that Yesu'yab and his Nestorians rather welcomed the invaders, and took steps to secure their protection and tolerance. So did the Jacobites in Persia (already a considerable community).²

Now the Moslem conquest, although the great turning-point in the political history of Persia, did not really make any vital difference to the Persian Church. To the Christians it only meant a change of masters. They had never known what it is to have a Christian Government. "Since twelve centuries the Aramaic races had been accustomed to submit to the rule of the strongest. The Achemenids, Seleucids, Parthians and Sassanids, one after another, had exploited and oppressed them without mercy. The Arabs continued the same tradition. To slaves it matters little whether they obey this or that master."³

¹ For this word see p. 24.

² See Barhebræus: *Chron. eccl.*, ed. cit. ii. 116-118. But Labourt thinks that his account of the welcome given to Moslems by Christians may be exaggerated (in later times) to secure the favour of the Moslem Government; *op. cit.* 245-246. The story of the Arab invasion and conquest of Persia has been told many times. See, for instance, Gibbon's chapter li., and Bury's note on the chronology, Appendix 21 to vol. v. of his edition of the *Decline and Fall* (pp. 540-543), Methuen, 1898. Bibliography will be found there in App. i., *ib.* 512-516.

³ Labourt: *op. cit.* p. 246.

The Nestorians then became a *rayah*,¹ "people of protection,"² on the usual terms of Christians in the Khalif's domain.³ About the year 750 Bagdad was built near Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The Abbasid Khalifs reigned there till 1258. During this time the Christians (*naṣāra*), of whom we hear in their neighbourhood, were, of course, mostly Nestorians. They did not at once sink to the pitiable state in which they are now. They still had enormous missions (see p. 108), and they were, during all the Abbasid period, a very important factor in civilization in the East.

Various legends grew up later, or were made deliberately to persuade the Moslem conqueror to look with special favour on the Nestorians among the subject communities of Christians, Jews and Mazdæans. So it was said that Mohammed himself had been in friendly relations with a Nestorian monk named Sergius, from whom he had learned about the Christian system.⁴ Yesu'yab II was said to have gone to see Mohammed, and to have obtained from him a document granting privileges to Nestorians.⁵ Omar is said to have confirmed this, 'Ali to have given another letter of protection to Nestorians because they supplied his army with food at the siege of Mosul, and other Khalifs later to have treated this sect with special toleration.⁶ So a Bishop of Adiabene, writing just after the Moslem invasion (650-660), says that the new masters are by no means so bad as they are thought to be, that they are not far removed from Christianity, honour its clergy and protect its Churches.⁷ We conceive the Nestorians, then, as subject to the usual conditions of *ḍimmis*; they might restore their

¹ *Ra'iyyah*, "herd," "flock," the legal name for an alien religious community tolerated under a Moslem Government.

² *Ahl-aḍḍimmah*.

³ See *Orth. Eastern Church*, 233-237.

⁴ So far this is likely enough. Mohammed's twisted knowledge of Christianity and of various Christian legends (as shown in the *Ḳorān*) was evidently gathered from talking to Christians. He often refers to monks (e.g. *Sūrah* lvii. 27). There were Nestorian missions in Arabia in his time; his informant is more likely to have been a Nestorian than anything else. Indeed, some references to our Lord in the *Ḳorān* suggest a Nestorian origin (e.g. *S. ii.* 81, 254; *xliv.* 57-65; *v.* 116-117, etc.).

⁵ This is the famous *Testament of Mohammed*, published by Gabriel Sionita (Paris, 1630).

⁶ Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (part 2), p. 95; here also the *Testament of Mohammed* is quoted.

⁷ *Ib.* iii. i. p. 131.

churches, but not build new ones, they were not allowed to bear arms nor to ride a horse, save in case of necessity, and they must even then dismount on meeting a Moslem; they had to pay the usual poll-tax. Yet they were favoured rather more than other *dimmis*. For one thing, when the Khalif reigned at Bagdad (750–1258) the Nestorians were the most powerful non-Moslem community at hand. Moreover, they were very useful. They had a higher tradition of civilization than their masters. Nestorians were used at court as physicians, scribes, secretaries, as Copts were in Egypt under the Fatimids (p. 227). This body of Nestorian officials at court got much influence, and eventually had a great voice in canonical matters, elected Patriarchs, and so on. They formed a kind of guild or corporate society, the “learned men” who had the Khalif’s ear. Indeed, the line of Arab scholarship which came to Spain, and was a great factor in mediæval learning, begins in great part with the Nestorians at Bagdad. The Nestorians had inherited Greek culture in Syriac translations. Now they handed it on to their Arab masters. So we find Khalifs treating the Nestorians as the chief of Christian communities. At one time (in the 13th century), the diploma given by the Khalif to the newly appointed Nestorian Patriarch¹ says: “The Sublime Authority empowers thee to be installed at Bagdad as Katholikos of the Nestorians, *as also for the other Christians in Moslem lands*, as representative in these lands of the Rûm (*sc.* Orthodox), Jacobites, Melkites.”² This means, at any rate sometimes, *civil* authority over all Christians given to the Nestorian Patriarch.³

As usual, under Moslem rule, this tolerance, even favour, was liable to be broken by intervals of sharp persecution. At any time a fanatical Khalif could start harrying his non-Moslem subjects as much as he liked. The Khalif Al-Mahdi (Mohammed Abū-‘abdullah, 775–785) made a short but frightful persecution, as a result of his war against the empire. Christian women received a

¹ Namely, the *barā’ah* (commonly called *berat*), which he received from the Government.

² Published in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenlandsgesellschaft*, vii. (1853), pp. 221–223.

³ So the Turks have often made the head of one religious body civil head of others too (the Gregorian Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople over Uniate Armenians, etc.), to the great disadvantage of these.

thousand lashes with thongs of bull's hide to make them apostatize; yet they remained faithful. Hārūn Ar-rashīd (Abū-ḡa'far 786-809) also persecuted for a time. He ordered all churches to be destroyed, and Christians to wear a special dress; from which Kremer concludes that already they had begun to speak Arabic, and to be otherwise not distinguishable from their Moslem neighbours.¹

A picture of the state of the Nestorians soon after the Moslem conquest of Persia is given by the life of their Patriarch Timothy I (779-823), related by M. J. Labourt.²

Timothy was born about 728 in Adiabene, still the chief stronghold of Christianity in those parts. His uncle, George, was Bishop of Beth Bagash on the Zab. The boy was sent to a famous monastery, Beth 'Abe, to be educated; here an old monk prophesied to him: "Keep thyself from all uncleanness; for thou shalt be Patriarch of all Eastern lands, and the Lord will make thee famous, as no one has been before thee nor shall be after thee." Timothy succeeded his uncle as Bishop of Beth Bagash. In 779 the Patriarch Ḥnānyeshu³ II (774-779) died, and Timothy began intriguing to succeed him. He offered the electors a bag which he said was full of gold, if they would choose him. They did, and then he gave them the bag, which was found to contain only stones. The story does credit to the simple faith of the Nestorians in their bishops.⁴ Timothy was thus made Patriarch in 780. But a number of bishops opposed him on sound canonical grounds,⁵ set up a rival, Ephrem of Gandīsābur, and he had much trouble before he crushed them. He had no mercy on Ephrem. Then Timothy set about his duties as Patriarch. He opposed the Jacobites, already a powerful community, the Catholics (who had a bishop

¹ A. v. Kremer: *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (Vienna, 1875-1877), ii. 168. An account of the state of Christians under the Khalifs at Bagdad will be found here, pp. 162-177.

² Labourt: *De Timotheo I, Nestorianorum patriarcha, et christianorum orientalium condicione sub caliphis Abbasidis* (Paris, 1904).

³ "Mercy of Jesus."

⁴ Barhebræus tells it: *Chron. eccl.*, ed. cit. ii. 168; and Maris: *Liber Turris*, ed. cit. p. 63.

⁵ Not because of the bribing trick; that was fair war: but because the Metropolitans of Beth Lapaṭ, Maishan, Arbela, and Beth Sluk were not present at the election; Labourt: *De Timotheo I*, p. 11.

at Bagdad), the Masalians and Henanians (p. 89). He wrote to the Maronites, then Monotheletes, and invited them to accept his own faith. This faith is, of course, Nestorianism in the mild form in which his sect held it. He repeats to the Maronites the regular formula, "two natural hypostases in one prosopon of the Son"; they are to accept Nestorius, Theodore, Diodore, and to renounce "that heretic Cyril." He agrees to their Monotheletism.¹ He settled questions of canon law and discipline, and advanced still further the power of the Katholikos over his suffragans. It is sometimes said that it was this Timothy who stopped the scandalous practice of bishops and monks with wives, and brought the discipline of the Nestorian Church to its present state (p. 134).² He was a person of much culture and zeal for scholarship. He was well versed in the Bible, theology and philosophy. He read Aristotle in a Syriac version, and caused other of his works to be translated in Syriac or Arabic.³ Labourt gives a very respectable list of Greek and Latin Fathers quoted by Timothy from Syriac translations.⁴ He was zealous about schools. He writes to a monk who became a bishop: "Take care of the schools with all your heart. Remember that the school is the mother and nurse of sons of the Church." And again: "Watch over scholars as the apple of your eye."⁵ Our Timothy was on friendly terms with the Khalifs Al-Mahdi and Hārūn Ar-rashīd. He is said to have settled an unpleasant question of divorce to the great advantage of Hārūn's wife Zubaidah. He advised her to turn Christian, be baptized, and so deserve death, then to go back to Islam; in this way Hārūn could retake her without further trouble.⁶ Strange advice for a Christian bishop to give, but it brought him great favour with the lady. He

¹ Labourt: *op. cit.* 18-19. It is curious that many Nestorians professed themselves Monotheletes, when that question came up. It seems at first like joining two opposite heresies. But Nestorians found the unity of Christ not in one hypostasis but in one operation, ἐνέργεια, though they must have meant only one operation *morally*. Anyhow, they were very civil to the Monotheletes, who thus held the unique position of pleasing both Nestorians and Monophysites.

² So G. D. Malech: *History of the Syrian Nation*, 269-270.

³ We have seen that Arabic knowledge of Greek philosophy came through the Nestorians. Averroes and Avicenna, and through them St. Thomas Aquinas, may owe their knowledge of Aristotle to this very Timothy.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 27-28.

⁵ *Ib.* 29.

⁶ *Ib.* 35.

ruled over a mighty Church with suffragans all over Asia, as we shall see in the next paragraph about Nestorian missions (pp. 103–110). So lived the virtuous Lord, Mâr Timothy the first, Katholikos of the East, and he died full of years on May 7 in the year 823.

The Patriarch changed his place of residence constantly. The idea that he was bishop of the twin cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, has almost disappeared. The Patriarchate had become an office of itself, independent of any see. Already before Timothy I, Ḥnānyeshu' II had moved to the new capital, Bagdad. Timothy resided there, as did most Patriarchs, till the Mongols came in 1258, and for some time after that.

In the early 11th century Albiruni, a Moslem writer from Khiva,¹ mentions the Nestorians as the most civilized of the Christian communities under the Khalif. He says that there are three sects of Christians, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites. "The most numerous of them are the Melkites and Nestorians; because Greece and the adjacent countries are all inhabited by Melkites, whilst the majority of the inhabitants of Syria, 'Irāk and Mesopotamia and Khurāsān are Nestorians. The Jacobites mostly live in Egypt and around it." The Nestorian Katholikos "is appointed by the Khalif on the presentation of the Nestorian community." But he will not allow that the Katholikos is a Patriarch. He says Christians have only four Patriarchs, of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. He forgets Jerusalem.² About a century later the Nestorians are mentioned by another Moslem philosopher, Shahrastāni.³ In his *Book of Religions and Sects*⁴ he

¹ Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad alBīrūnī was born at Khiva in 973, and died in 1048. He wrote a work which he calls *Alāthār al-bāḩiya 'an-il-Kurun Alkhāliya* ("Traces of Former Generations"). It is a description of religions and sects, as he knew them, about the year 1000. He does not mention the Mazdæans (unless this part has been destroyed). His book is translated and edited by C. E. Sachau (London: Oriental Transl. Fund, 1879).

² Ed. Sachau, chap. xv. pp. 282–284.

³ Abu-lFath Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdu-lKarīm Ash-Shahrastāni, born A.D. 1086 at Shahrastān by the desert of Khorasan. He lived three years at Bagdad, wrote many philosophical and theological works, and died at Shahrastān A.D. 1153.

⁴ *Kitāb alMilal wanNiḩal*. It contains accounts of Moslem sects, then the Ahl alKitāb (Jews and Christians), then people who have something "like a book" (*mithl Kitāb*), namely Mazdæans, Manichæans, Gnostics, etc. The

gives a not very accurate account of Nestorian theology. Christians, he says, are divided into three bodies: Melkites (who follow Malka!), Nestorians and Jacobites. Nestorians believe that the Word was joined to the body of Jesus, "like the shining of the sun through a window or on crystal, or like the figure impressed on a seal." According to them, the Messiah "is God and man in one, but each is an essence, a person and a nature." He says the Nestorians are Monotheletes, and gives a very strange account of their Trinitarian idea. He knows the Masalians as a sect of Nestorians.¹

In the 13th century came the great invasion of the Mongols under Jengiz Khan (1206-1227). They swept over China, Transoxiana, Persia. Jengiz's grandson Hulagu Khan stormed and sacked Bagdad in 1258, and put to death the last Abbasid Khalif, Almusta'zim billāh ('Abdullāh Abū-aḥmad, 1242-1258).² This meant again a change of masters for the Nestorians. But it was not a painful one. The Mongols turned Moslem, and were at least as tolerant as the Arabs had been. The Crusades did not much affect the Nestorians in their ancient home; though from this time begin their occasional relations and correspondence with Popes, to which we shall return when we come to the Uniate Chaldees.

For about a century the Nestorians lived, not altogether unhappily, under the successors of Jengiz Khan. It was during this time (the 13th century) that their Church reached its largest extent through its wonderful missions (p. 108). We have a picture of their condition at this time in the life of their Patriarch Yabal-lāhā III (1281-1317).³ He was originally named Mark, and came from one of the remote missions in China. He had come to Bagdad to visit the Patriarch Denḥā I⁴ (1265-1281) on his way

second part treats of Greek, Arab, Buddhist and Hindu philosophers. The book is edited by W. Cureton in Arabic: *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects* (2 vols., London, 1842-1846), in German by T. Haarbrücker: *Schahrastāni's Religionspartheien u. Philosophenschulen* (2 vols., Halle, 1850-1851).

¹ Ed. Haarbrücker, i. 259-267.

² For the Mongol invasion see Gibbon, chap. lxiv. (*ed. cit.* vol. vii. 1-22).

³ See Chabot: *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha, Patriarche, et de Raban Sauma* (Paris, ed. 2, 1895).

⁴ Denḥā means "splendour," "epiphany." J. B. Chabot published a panegyric of Denḥā I, written after his death by a contemporary monk,

to the Holy Land. But Denḥâ would not let him go further. Instead, he ordained him Metropolitan of Kathay and Wang (Northern China). Then Denḥâ died, and Mark succeeded him as Yabal-lâhâ III. He governed the Nestorian Church during its most brilliant period. Twenty-five Metropolitans, in Persia, Mesopotamia, Khorasan, Turkistan, India and China, obeyed him. He was on friendly terms with the Prince of the Mongols, under whose civil rule he lived. This prince (Argon Khan) thought of sending an embassy to the Emperor, the Pope and the Western princes; naturally, he imagined that a Christian ambassador would be most welcome. So he asked the Nestorian Patriarch to find him a suitable person. Yaballâhâ chose a monk, Rabban Şaumâ, who had come from China with him.¹ The Khan gave him letters for the Emperor, the Pope and others, and sent him off with plenty of money, three horses and a suite.

Rabban Şaumâ's embassy in Europe is one of the most curious episodes of later Nestorian history. By this time, the very existence of a Nestorian Church was almost forgotten in the West. Perhaps the most remarkable point in his adventures is the unquestioning confidence with which everyone takes his word that he is a good Christian, as they are. So entirely had suspicion of Nestorians died out, that even the Pope gave him Communion. Rabban Şaumâ came to Constantinople, saw what he calls "King Basileus" (evidently taking that for his name), the Holy Wisdom, all the relics and wonders. Then he comes to Italy, lands at Naples, and sees King "Irid Ḥarladu"² At that time Irid Ḥarladu was fighting the King of "Arkun" (Aragon). Honest Şaumâ is amazed that in European war only combatants are killed. Not so is war waged in his country. Arrived at Rome, he finds the Pope just dead.³ Instead of a Pope he finds twelve great lords, called "Kardînâle." He says he has come from King Argon and the Katholikos of the East. The Cardinals ask him who founded his Church (clearly they have never heard of it), and he says: "Mâr Thomas, Mâr Addai, Mâr Maris; we have John (*Journal asiatique*, Jan.-Feb. 1895). It tells the story of his life, and throws light on the state of the Nestorians in his time.

¹ Rabban Şaumâ was born at Ḥan-bâliḳ (which is Pekin).

² This astonishing name is simply "il re Carlo due" (Chabot: *op. cit.* p. 60).

³ Honorius IV († Apr. 3, 1287).

their rite." They ask about his faith, and he quotes to them the creed as used by the Nestorians in the 13th century. It is, roughly, the Nicene Creed ; but it has Nestorian clauses. Şaumâ says that one of the Trinity " clothed himself in a perfect man " ; that our Lord has two natures, two hypostases, one person. Even now the Cardinals do not seem to suspect what he is. But they continue the discussion, and Şaumâ incidentally denies the *Filioque*. The horrors of theological controversy are about to begin, when he says : " I did not come here to argue with you, but to venerate the Lord Pope." As there was at the moment no Lord Pope to venerate, Şaumâ goes on to France, and arrives at Paris, where he sees King Philip IV (1285-1314). Then he comes to " Kasonio " (Gascogne), and there finds the King of " Alangitar " (Angleterre), none other than our Edward I (1272-1307). With him, too, the traveller discourses. Edward says he means to fit out a crusade, and boasts (at that time he could) that in all Western Europe, though there be many kingdoms and governments, there is but one religion. This is the furthest point Şaumâ reached. To travel from Pekin to Gascony in the 13th century is indeed an astounding feat. On his way back he stops again at Rome, finds Nicholas IV elected (1288-1292), and pays homage to him with exceeding reverence. Nicholas is " the Lord Pope, Katholikos, Partiarich of the Roman lands and of all Western people."¹ He asks and obtains leave to celebrate his liturgy in Rome. The people say : " The language is different, but the rite is the same." Clearly they were no great scholars in liturgy. On Palm Sunday Şaumâ attends the Pope's Mass and receives Holy Communion from him. This is probably the only time in history that a Nestorian has done so. He sees and describes all the Holy Week services in Rome. The Pope gives him relics " because you have come from so far." He had apparently received money from everyone, after the manner of Nestorians who come to Europe. At last he arrives home again, and tells all his adventures to Argon Khan, " who was glad and exulted with joy."²

¹ One would not, of course, expect a Nestorian to admit more than this. But the surprise of seeing this Chinese Christian seems to have made the Romans easily satisfied with his position.

² For all this see Chabot : *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha (op. cit.)*.

But the insecurity of the Nestorians under Mongol rule was shown by another adventure of Yaballâhâ III. In 1295 he was seized by a vicious governor, tortured, and only released when he had paid 20,000 dinars to his persecutor.

These years of comparative ease and splendour under the Mongols are the last rays of light in the story of the Nestorians. We come now to a frightful storm and then dark night for many centuries.

The storm is the work of that appalling person the lame Timur. Timur Leng was a rebel Mongol chieftain. In the 14th century he rose against the Prince of the House of Jengiz, and swept with his wild hordes like a hurricane over Asia. He set up his throne at Samarcand, having crushed Turks and Mongols, having devastated Syria, Persia, India and China, and died there in 1405.¹ Timur finally broke the Nestorian Church. Their missions went to pieces, countless numbers of Nestorians were massacred or apostatized.

Fleeing from total destruction, the Patriarch, with a feeble remnant, took refuge in the Highlands of Kurdistan. So we come to the last act of their story. Since the 14th century, the Nestorians remain a tiny handful of families in Kurdistan and the plain of Mesopotamia. They were almost forgotten by Europe till Western travellers rediscovered them in the 19th century. There is not much to chronicle from this last period.

After the storm of Timur Leng had passed, the modern states of Turkey and Persia appear. The Ottoman Turks had already entered the scene in the 13th century, and Persia became an independent state in the 15th (pp. 27-28). So the Nestorians found themselves on the frontier of these two Moslem countries. That is so still. They live around the frontier, some on one side and some on the other. The Patriarch lived for a long time at Mosul, sometime at Margâ, east of Lake Urmi (in Persia); now he² has lived for about a century at the village Qudshanîs, in the mountains on the Turkish side.

¹ For Timur Leng (Tamerlane) see Gibbon's lxxvth chapter (*ed. cit.* vol. vii. pp. 44-68).

² Namely, the Patriarch of the present Nestorian line; for there have been disputed successions, with the curious result noted at p. 103.

About the middle of the 15th century the Patriarchate became hereditary—no doubt gradually. The electors chose the nephew of the last Patriarch, who had been brought up under his care and had learned in his house how to follow his footsteps. Then this became a regular principle. So we come to one of the chief abuses of the modern Nestorians, the existence of a “ Patriarchal family.” The Patriarch may not marry, so the office passes from uncle to nephew, as we shall see when we come to the present conditions (p. 130). In the year 1551 began a great dispute about the succession, whose results still last. This question also affects the Uniate Chaldees, since out of the quarrel emerged their lines of Patriarchs too. But, as it also affects the Nestorians profoundly, we must tell the story here. Its final result is very curious.

In 1551 Simon (Shim'un) Bar-Mâmâ, the Patriarch, died. It was in his house (the family of Mâmâ) that the Patriarchate had become hereditary. So a number of bishops duly elect his nephew Simon Denhâ to succeed him. But others and the Nestorian “notables,”¹ apparently in order to break the hereditary idea, elect a monk of the Rabban Hurmîzd monastery (p. 135) named Sa'ûd,² whose name in religion was John Sulâkâ.³ Sulâkâ becomes a very important person ; he was the first Uniate Patriarch of a continuous line.⁴ In order to fortify himself against his rival he makes friends with the Catholic Franciscan missionaries, who were already working among the Nestorians. They send him to Jerusalem, and there the “ Custos s. sepulchri ” gives him letters for the Pope. He comes to Rome, makes a Catholic profession of faith, and is ordained Patriarch by Pope Julius III (1550-1555) on Apr. 9, 1553. Then he went back as a Uniate Patriarch, hoping to gather all Nestorians under his authority. But in 1555 he was imprisoned by the Pasha of Diyârbakr, and murdered in prison by the machinations of his rival. We now have two successions of rival Patriarchs—no uncommon occurrence in this Church. We will take Sulâkâ's line first. He was succeeded by one 'Ebed-

¹ These “ notables ” are the heads of the chief families who succeed the old courtiers (scribes and physicians) in their influence on elections (p. 93).

² Arabic = “ Blessed.”

³ “ Ascension.”

⁴ There had been temporary reunions before.

yesu',¹ who kept the union faithfully, and received the pallium from Pope Pius IV (1559-1565).² He died in 1567. Then came Aitallâhâ, apparently also a Catholic. After Aitallâhâ came Denhâ Shim'un, who suffered much during the war between Turkey and Persia, fled to Persia, and died there in 1593. Meanwhile the flock of these Patriarchs became more and more anti-Roman in feeling. The union seems to have been kept up fitfully; that is to say, Patriarchs of this line occasionally sent Catholic professions of faith and protestations of obedience to Rome, receiving in return the pallium; others did not, and the mass of clergy and people were probably but little conscious of the difference thereby made. All Patriarchs of this line of Sulâkâ took the name Simon (Mâr Shim'un). In the 17th century, Mâr Shim'un VII went to reside at Urmi; his successor and Mâr Shim'un IX both sent Catholic professions to Rome. In 1670 Mâr Shim'un XII sent the last of these professions. From that time relations with Rome dropped; except that in 1770 one of the Patriarchs wrote to Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) expressing his desire to restore the union. But by now they and their flocks had quietly dropped back into schism. In the 18th century they moved to Qudshanîs, as we have said, apparently in consequence of a Turkish-Persian war. Here the present Mâr Shim'un, the reigning Nestorian Patriarch, lives. The curious fact is that he does not represent the old Nestorian line from Pâpâ, Dâdyeshu' and Mâr Abâ, but the originally Uniate line of Sulâkâ. So people who inveigh against Uniate secessions from the ancient Eastern Churches should count Mâr Shim'un as merely the head of a schismatical secession from the ancient Persian Church.

Meanwhile the rival line of Bar Mâmâ went on. These Patriarchs all took the name Elias (Eliyâ). Sulâkâ's rival Shim'un Denhâ is said to have made his two illegitimate children bishops at the ages of twelve and fifteen. If this be true, Baron d'Avril seems to have some reason for describing him as "hardly estimable."³ His successors also negotiated with Rome. Elias V sent a profession of faith, which, however, Pope Sixtus V (1585-

¹ 'Bedyeshu', "Servant of Jesus."

² He was present at the last session of the Council of Trent, Dec. 4, 1563.

³ *La Chaldée chrétienne*, p. 45.

1590) rejected as stained with Nestorianism.¹ In 1607 Elias VI sent a sound profession and was admitted to union ; so did Elias VII in 1657. So at this time both the lines of Sulâkâ and Bar Mâmâ were Uniate ; there were two Uniate Patriarchs of the Chaldees, an Elias at Mosul in the plains and a Mâr Shim'un at Urmi. But the line of Bar Mâmâ fell away too after Elias VII. In the middle of the 18th century a certain Joseph, Metropolitan of Diyârbakr, renounced his allegiance to Elias VIII, because Elias had broken with the Pope. Joseph came to Rome and received a pallium as Uniate Patriarch. This begins a third line, all Uniate, which lasted till 1826 and then disappeared, because the line of Bar Mâmâ had come back to union (p. 129). Since 1830 this line of Bar Mâmâ, really the only one which has direct continuity from the old Persian Katholikoi, is Uniate. So we have the curious situation that the present Nestorian Patriarch represents the originally Uniate succession of Sulâkâ, and the Uniate Chaldæan Patriarch the old Nestorian line.²

There is nothing now to add about the Nestorians till we come to their present state. A little group of families in Kurdistan and around Lake Urmi, they have been at intervals horribly persecuted by the Kurds, never more than in the 19th century. Then comes their rediscovery by Western travellers and missionaries, which will be described later (pp. 115-126).

2. Nestorian Missions

We must note something about what is the most interesting and the most glorious episode in the history of this Church—its missions. During the long period we have been discussing, down to Timur Leng's destruction of everything, the Nestorians had flourishing missions all over Asia. As long as the empire lasted they were

¹ Dr. Neale appears to be pleasantly surprised that no Pope would accept a Nestorian profession of faith ; this he thinks a point in their favour (in Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, i, 404). One is glad that he is pleased, but really these people are amazing. Apparently they think Rome quite capable of throwing overboard Ephesus, if it suits her purpose.

² For all this see J. Labourt : "Note sur les schismes de l'Église Nestorienne," in the *Journal asiatique*, x. série, vol. xi. (1908), pp. 227-235 ; and A. d'Avril : *La Chaldée chrétienne*, pp. 43-47.

prevented from entering its territory, since Zeno drove them out in 489 (p. 78). But they had a force of expansion which would honour any Christian Church. Shut off from the West, they reached out towards the East and carried the name of Christ to India, Turkestan and China.

In the West the Nestorians had tried to push their doctrine. Under the Moslem Khalif the Roman anti-Nestorian laws, of course, had no force; so they sent missionaries to Syria, Palestine, Cyprus. In Cyprus they had churches and a Metropolitan, who has some importance as having come into union at the Council of Florence.¹ Even in Egypt there were Nestorian congregations, in the very home of Monophysism. Under the Patriarch Mâr Abâ II (742-752) the Nestorians of Egypt had a bishop under the (Nestorian) Metropolitan of Damascus. In Arabia they had still older settlements. Mohammed is often said to have learned what he knew of Christianity from a Nestorian monk (p. 92, n. 4). In the 6th century Nestorian missionaries had founded a great Church along the west coast of India. This is to us their most important mission, because it has had a long history of its own and still exists. It is the Church of Malabar, of which in Chapter XI. Here it shall be enough to note that the Arabian and Indian missions were under the Bishop of Persis (Pâres). In Ceylon, too, there were Nestorians in the 6th century. When Kosmas Indikopleustes travelled in those regions (about 530) he found Christians in Ceylon, India, and a bishop at Kalliana² who was ordained in Persia.³ In Khorasan they had flourishing churches. In the 7th century the Katholikos Yeshu'yab complains to Simon Metropolitan of Yakut that he is neglecting the churches of Merv and Khorasan.⁴ The island of Socotra (Dioscorides) had a Nestorian church in the 6th century. Kosmas Indikopleustes speaks of Christians there;⁵ in 880 the Katholikos Enush sent

¹ One of the ruined churches of Famagusta is still known as the Nestorian church; see Enlart: *L'Art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899), i. 356-365.

² Now Kalyāna, near Bombay.

³ Ed. M'Crimble: *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (London, Hakluyt Soc., 1897), pp. 118, 120, 365. Kosmas calls these "Persian Christians." He was probably himself a Nestorian.

⁴ His letter is in Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (part 1), 130-131.

⁵ *Ed. cit.* p. 119.

them a bishop, in the 11th century Sbaryeshu' III (1057-1072) ordained one bishop for the islands of the Indian see and another for Socotra ;¹ Marco Polo speaks of Christians in Socotra and of "an archbishop who is not in subjection to the Pope of Rome, but to a Patriarch who resides in the city of Baghdad."² Marco Polo, the valiant Venetian traveller of the 13th century, is our witness for many outlying Nestorian missions. Again, a certain Kyriakos (so-called), Bishop of Socotra, was present at the ordination of Yaballâhâ III at Bagdad in 1282.³ From Khorasan and India Nestorian missionaries pushed north and east. In the strangest and most inaccessible places Marco Polo found flourishing Nestorian communities. At Samarcand they had a church, of which he tells how its central column was upheld miraculously ; he says that a brother of the Grand Khan was a Christian convert.⁴ Near there is the province of Karkan, whose inhabitants are "for the most part Mahometans, with some Nestorian Christians."⁵ At Kashkar the Nestorians have their own churches.⁶ So Christianity spread into Tartary and Turkestan, at Balkh and Herat. In all these places in the 12th and 13th centuries we hear of Nestorian bishops who obeyed the Patriarch at Bagdad. A specially curious case is that of the land of Tenduch or Tenduk, just south of Lake Baikal. Its capital was the city Karakorum. Since the 11th century there was so flourishing a Nestorian Church here that the country and the Government were Christian. The prince was named Owang or Unk Khan. He was a Christian. The name seems to have been a hereditary one, passing from one sovereign to another. Owang is not unlike Ioannes. So through the Middle Ages in Europe grew up a wonderful legend of that distant Christian prince. By a natural exaggeration they made this head of a Christian com-

¹ Lequien : *Or. Christ.* ii. 1141.

² William Marsden's translation, chap. xxxv. (ed. by Thomas Wright, G. Newnes, 1904, p. 371). But these people may possibly have been Jacobites, as the Portuguese thought, when they came (*ib.*, note). On the other hand, there are many authorities besides Marco Polo for their connection with the Nestorian Patriarch. Did they fluctuate from one sect to the other, like the people of Malabar ?

³ Avril : *La Chaldée chrétienne*, p. 16.

⁴ Marco Polo, chap. xxxi. (*ed. cit.* p. 84).

⁵ Chap. xxxii. (p. 85).

⁶ Chap. xxx. (p. 83).

munity into an ecclesiastical person. He is the famous *Prester John*, King and Priest. Marco Polo has much to say of him.¹ The Crusaders in their most hopeless moments always hoped that suddenly from the East Prester John would come, leading an army to help them. A certain Bishop of Gabula was said to have written to Pope Eugene III (1145-1153) about this John, "rex et sacerdos," who, with his people, was a Christian, though a Nestorian.² Alexander III (1159-1181) sent messages to "Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo."³ John of Monte Corvino, the first Catholic bishop in China, in 1305, writes about Prester John.⁴ Then the legend shifts its ground and this strange figure becomes a King of Abyssinia. The legend has a long story.⁵ Its first source seems to be clearly the Nestorian Khan of Tenduch. One can understand how the mediæval imagination was fired by that dream of a mighty king and pontiff, reigning over a great Christian nation out in the unknown wilds of Central Asia, who some day would appear in the East, leading an army under the standard of the cross to save the Crusaders' kingdom.

Then, from Khorasan, Turkestan and India the Gospel was brought to the great land of China. It is strange, when we read of the first Catholic mission to China, to realize that many centuries earlier Nestorian missionaries had been there, that there had been native Nestorian Christians and a Nestorian hierarchy. We do not know how early the missionaries came; but already in the early 8th century the Patriarch Šlībāzka⁶ I (714-726) ordained a Metropolitan for China.⁷ This Chinese Nestorian Church, too, lasted till Timur's devastation. We have seen that Yaballâhâ III came from China (p. 97). Chinese Nestorianism has left monuments. The most astonishing of these is the tablet of *Si-ngan-fu*.

¹ Chaps. xlv., liv., lv.

² *Prot. Real-Enc.* (Herzog and Hauck): "Johannes Presbyter" (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1901), ix. 313.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* p. 313. John of Monte Corvino, O.F.M., titular Archbishop of Cambalia, converted a descendant of Owang and all his subjects to the Catholic Church in 1292. But the union did not last.

⁵ See G. Oppert: *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage u. Geschichte*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1870.

⁶ "The Crucified has conquered."

⁷ Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (part 2), p. 426. A considerable account of Nestorian missions will be found here, pp. 414-434.

Si-ngan-fu is in Middle China, in the province of Shen-si. Here, in 1625, Jesuit missionaries found a stone with a long inscription in Chinese and Syriac. At first Protestants said they had forged it themselves; now no one doubts its authenticity. For one thing, if the Jesuits had forged it they would have done it better. The Chinese part is apparently very difficult to translate. But there is no doubt that it is a monument put up by Nestorians in honour of their religion. It is dated (in our reckoning) 781. It is long and involved, as Chinese inscriptions are. It has as title: "Tablet eulogizing the propagation of the illustrious religion in China, with a preface composed by King-ting, priest of the Syrian Church." Then it begins: "Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin," etc. "This is our eternal true Lord God, threefold and mysterious in substance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points," etc. Lower down: "Thereupon, our Trinity being divided in nature,¹ the illustrious and honourable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man." "A virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria." An account of Christianity, of the Bible, of Christian morals follows. Then: "It is difficult to find a name to express the excellence of the true and unchangeable doctrine; but as its meritorious operations are manifestly displayed, by accommodation it is named the Illustrious Religion." "In the time of the accomplished Emperor Taitsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived was the most virtuous Olopun² from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, he bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers." This Olopun is said to have arrived in the year 635; which would give us a date for the first missionary in this part of China. The inscription goes on at great length, praising the Chinese king and describing a most flourishing and widespread Christianity under his rule. And this in 781! Finally: "This was erected in the second year of Kien-chung of the Tang dynasty, on the seventh

¹ There are several curious heresies of this kind which combine to exonerate the Jesuits from having forged it.

² Olopun or Olopwen is perhaps Syriac = *Allâhâ-ṣnâ*, "God converts."

day of the first month, being Sunday." That is our year 781. In Syriac are names of missionaries and founders of the monument. For instance: "Adam, deacon, Vicar episcopal and Pope of China. In the time of the Father of Fathers, the Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch."¹ This monument also gives wonderful matter for the imagination. Discovered by accident nearly a thousand years later, it brought across that silent chasm its witness of a forgotten Church, lost centuries before in the storms that swept over Asia. Now, looking back through the mist, we have a glimpse of Olopin observing the azure clouds and bringing the true sacred books to the accomplished Emperor Taitsung, bringing the Illustrious Religion to China, thirteen centuries ago.

This outline of their missions will shew that the Nestorians before Timur Leng were a vast and mighty Church. In the 13th century twenty-five Metropolitans obeyed the Nestorian Patriarch.² Allowing an average of eight to ten sees for each province, this represents a hierarchy of two hundred to two hundred and fifty bishops. There is, perhaps, some excuse for what is, of course, really a gross exaggeration of Neale, that "it may be doubted whether Innocent III possessed more spiritual power than the Patriarch in the city of the Caliphs."³

All these missions have been swept away long ago. In Cyprus the Nestorians became Uniates. In Socotra they were Uniates for a time under the Portuguese;⁴ then the Arabs wiped out Christianity from the island. But it was chiefly the tempest aroused by Timur Leng which overturned the Nestorian mission churches. After his time no Christians were left in Central Asia, the churches were destroyed, the lines of bishops came to an end. The whole Nestorian body was reduced to a frightened remnant hiding in the wilds of Kurdistan (p. 100). Only one mission at

¹ Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (part 2), pp. 538-552, gives a long description of the monument and a translation of the inscription. Cf. P. Carus: *The Nestorian Monument* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909), with illustrations of the stone. H. Thurston, S.J.: "Christianity in the Far East," II., *The Month*, Oct. 1912, pp. 382-394.

² Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (part 2), p. 630.

³ *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, i. p. 143.

⁴ St. Francis Xavier preached here in 1542.

Malabar survived (pp. 353-358) ; and here and there a broken stone bearing a cross and Syriac letters is found, to bear witness that once Christ was worshipped in Tatory and China.

There is another curious relic of Nestorianism in Asia, which we may just notice. Everyone has heard how strangely Christian or Catholic in external details is the Lamaism of Tibet. We know that Lamaist monks have a hierarchy and many rites like ours. People have tried to make anti-Christian capital out of this. Since Lamaism is Buddhism of a sort, and Buddha lived before Christ, it is sometimes said that we have borrowed these things from them. All kinds of dependence have been suggested, even the ridiculous idea that our Lord travelled to Central Asia and studied there under Buddhist monks. Now, in the first place, Lamaism is a quite late degradation of Buddhism, introduced into Tibet about 640 A.D. ;¹ and, secondly, the mysterious likeness is explained by the fact that at that time there were flourishing Nestorian churches, with an elaborate ritual, all over these parts. Lamaist monasticism, holy water, incense, vestments are nothing but debased copies of what the natives had seen among the Nestorians. There is nothing mysterious about these things. At the source of the Lamaist ritual which so surprises the modern explorer stand a Nestorian monastery and a Nestorian bishop celebrating his liturgy.²

These missions are the most remarkable and the most glorious episode in Nestorian history. It would be cruelly unjust to forget them. We think of the Nestorians as a wretched heretical sect, cut off from the Catholic Church and so gradually withering. They are that. But there is another side too. For a time, as long as they could, they did their share in the common Christian cause heroically. While they were cut off from the West, denounced by Catholics, Orthodox and Jacobites, while we thought of them as a dying sect in Persia, they were sending missions all over Asia. Those forgotten Nestorian missionaries, they were not Catholics but they were Christians. Braving long journeys, braving heathen tyrants and horrible danger, they brought the name of Christ north to Lake Baikal, south to Ceylon, and east right into the

¹ L. A. Waddell : *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 9

² *Ib.* 421-422.

heart of China. They must have baptized thousands, and they taught the wild men of Tartary to worship one God, to serve Christ, even if they did think him two hypostases, to love his mother, even if they did not call her Theotókos. Let that be remembered to their honour.

3. Nestorian Monasticism

There are now no Nestorian monasteries and few monks or nuns. What remnant there is of East Syrian monasticism is only to be found among the Uniate Chaldees. But monasticism was once a very flourishing institution in this Church. It played so great a part in their history that we must say at least a word about it here.

Their own tradition is that a certain Augīn¹ brought the monastic life from Egypt in the 4th century. He had been a pearl fisherman in the Red Sea. Then he became a monk in the Nitrian desert, and eventually, with seventy companions, set out for Nisibis. Here he founded the first East Syrian monastery on Mount Izlâ, near the city. Three hundred and fifty disciples gathered round him and kept the rule he had brought from the Fathers of the Egyptian desert. So Mâr Augīn of Egypt founded monasticism in the East.² Most modern scholars doubt this story altogether.³ As a matter of fact, monasticism was already so established in Western Syria that it must have spread eastwards with Christianity. There is no need to look for the name of one special founder here. Monks came, probably as the first missionaries, and monasteries were built as soon as churches. So East Syria and Persia received monasticism simply as a natural part of the Christian system. We have seen that in very early days there were "sons" and "daughters of the Covenant" in the East Syrian Church (p. 43). This was the beginning which only needed organization to develop into regular monasticism.

¹ Eugene.

² His legend is told in P. Bejān : *Acta martyrum et sanctorum* (Leipzig, 1890-1895). iii. pp. 376-480.

³ So Labourt : *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, pp. 302-314. The significant fact is that Thomas of Margâ in the work quoted below (p. 112) ignores Augin altogether.

During the 5th century, when the Persian Church was in its lowest state and all celibacy was abolished among the clergy (p. 81), a synod ordained contemptuously that anyone who wanted not to marry had better go to a monastery.¹ But about this time we hear of even monks and nuns marrying.² Now, monasticism without celibacy is no monasticism at all. Always the "angelic" life has been the essence of what we called religious orders. So, in the 5th century, the religious life was nearly extinct in Persia. In the 6th century came a great reform and a new beginning of monasticism.³ This was made by Abraham of Kashkar, called the Great. He is the second founder of Persian monastic life, the organizer and head of all its later development, so that he holds a place analogous to that of St. Basil and St. Benedict.

Abraham was born in 491 or 492 in the land of Kashkar.⁴ He studied at Nisibis, then went to the Egyptian desert, as St. Basil had done, to learn the rule of monks at the fountain-head of Christian monasticism. After staying at Sinai and other famous centres of the religious life, he came back to Nisibis and founded or restored a monastery at Mount Izlâ. Here he gathered around him a great number of monks, who then spread his rule throughout the Persian Church. He died in the odour of sanctity, aged ninety-five, in 586. The Nestorians remember Rabban Abraham the Great rightly as the "Father of Monks." Thomas of Margâ says that God "established him to be the father of the army of virgins and men of abstinence"⁵; again: "As formerly everyone who wished to learn and become a master of the heathen philosophy of the Greeks went to Athens, the famous city of philosophers, so in this case everyone who desired to be instructed in spiritual philosophy went to the holy monastery of Rabban Mâr Abraham and inscribed himself in sonship to him."⁶ After him came

¹ Synod of Acacius in 486 (p. 81), Can. ii. (Chabot: *Synodicon orientale*, pp. 302-303): "Let them go into monasteries and wild places and stay there."

² Bar Šaumâ married a nun (p. 81). In 499 a synod allowed monks to marry; *ib.* n. 1.

³ It was part of Mâr Abâ's general reform of the Church; see p. 83.

⁴ In Mesopotamia, south of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

⁵ *Book of Governors*, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge (2 vols., London, 1893); ii. p. 38.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 42. See all the chapter (37-42) for Abraham's life

Dâdyeshu' as abbot.¹ Their rules have been preserved.² These are merely the old Egyptian rule slightly modified to suit Persia. Monks wore a tunic, belt, cloak, hood and sandals. They carried a cross and a stick. The Nestorian monks wore a tonsure formed like a cross, to distinguish them from those of the Jacobites.³ At first they met seven times a day for common prayer (the canonical hours). Later it was reduced to four times. They worked in the fields; those who could copied books. They abstained from flesh-meat always, ate one meal (of bread and vegetables) a day, at the sixth hour (mid-day). Then they all lay down and slept awhile. After three years of probation a monk could, with the abbot's leave, retire to absolute solitude as a hermit. After Abraham of Kashkar celibacy was, of course, enforced very strictly. Nestorian monks were always subject to the local bishop; all their property, for instance, was administered and controlled by him. Labourt counts this a characteristic note of Eastern monasticism, and notes how it strengthened the hands of the hierarchy.⁴

An interesting picture of Nestorian monasticism is given by Thomas of Margâ in his *Book of Governors* (Ktâbâ drishâne), otherwise called *Historia monastica*. Thomas was a monk at Beth 'Abe (a dependency of Mount Izlâ) in the early 9th century. He became Bishop of Margâ, and eventually Metropolitan of Beth Garmai, north of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, east of the Tigris. He wrote his book about 840. It is a collection of stories of monks, from Abraham of Kashkar down to his own time, like the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius.⁵

Labourt thinks that the Nestorians, like the Jacobites, owe it to their monasteries that they were able to withstand the flood of Islam.⁶ They had flourishing monasteries, with many famous

¹ *Ib.* chap. v. pp. 42-44.

² Chabot: *Regulæ monasticæ ab Abraham et Dadjesu conditæ* (Rome, 1898); see also Wallis Budge's edition of Thomas of Margâ, vol. i. pp. cxxxiv-clvi, and Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, p. 180.

³ *Book of Governors*, ii. 40-41.

⁴ *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 324.

⁵ Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge has edited it, in Syriac and English, with an introduction about Persian monasticism and copious notes (*The Book of Governors*, 2 vols., Kegan Paul, 1893).

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 324.

monks ¹ till the general disaster of Timur Leng. Since then the religious life vegetates only among them. They still have a few wandering monks, but no longer any fixed monasteries (p. 135).

Summary

In this chapter we have seen a general picture of the Nestorian Church from its definite adoption of that heresy till the 19th century. From the 7th century at latest we must count the ancient Church of Persia as committed to the heresy condemned by the Council of Ephesus. It was already schismatical. In its isolation this Church had periods of great degradation alternately with moral revivals. Mâr Abâ I, in the 6th century, deserves to be remembered as an illustrious reformer. In the 7th century the Moslem Arabs conquered Persia ; so the Nestorians found themselves under new masters. The Arab capital was Bagdad ; the Nestorian Patriarch came to live here, and for about six centuries his people were not altogether badly treated, while they remained the chief source of general civilization for their Moslem rulers. Jengiz Khan did them no great harm either. During this time they had most flourishing missions all over Asia, so that their Patriarch was head of a large hierarchy, including bishops even in China. Timur Leng in the 13th century put an end to all their prosperity, destroyed their missions, and left them a poor remnant in Kurdistan. Here they had a great quarrel about the Patriarchal succession in the 16th century, out of which emerge rival lines and the beginning of reunion with Rome. During the time before Timur Leng monasticism was a flourishing institution among them ; now it has practically disappeared.

¹ *E.g.* Babai the Great was a monk of Mount Izlâ (p. 83).

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENT NESTORIAN CHURCH

WE come at last to what is left of this ancient Church. The Nestorians now left are but a small sect of little importance in the great Christian family ; yet behind them one sees their glorious past, the martyrs under Shapur II, the missionaries who brought the Gospel to China. If only for the sake of these one would speak of their descendants with all respect. In seeing them as they now are, we think first of the awful calamity of their schism. True, they have kept the Christian faith nobly during all those dark centuries of degradation. The faith of Christ—and, alas ! of Nestorius—is still alive where once the school of Nisibis argued against Cyril and Ephesus. Yet—if only they had kept it without the isolation of schism ! How honoured a province of the great Church of Christ might they now be, how strong in their union with the mighty Church of the West ! One would like to go back to the days of Bar Şaumâ and Aḳaḳ, and to say to them : “ Never mind about ẖnumâ and Kyânâ : who can understand these things ? Worship Christ as does the rest of Christendom, and wait till you see him to understand his nature. And, if the great Church has cast out Nestorius, you must let him go too. At any rate, at any price do not make a schism. Trust Christ that he will not let his Church become really impossible, and stay in her whatever happens.” Too late now ! we must comfort ourselves with the Chaldæan Uniates.

This chapter will describe the hierarchy, faith, rites and number of Nestorians as they are now. But first we may clear the ground by describing what is practically their rediscovery in

the 19th century, and the various missions which work among them.

1. The Rediscovery of the Nestorians

The word rediscovery is not inappropriate. It is true that the little sect was never quite forgotten. People knew that there were still Nestorians in Turkey and Persia. The authorities of the Catholic Church especially were always conscious of them. Since the Crusades we have had missionaries working for their reunion. Since the 16th century there has been an organized Uniate Chaldaean Church. There have been constant negotiations between East Syrian Patriarchs and Rome; at intervals practically the whole body has come back to union. The Assemani and Renaudot knew much about them. Yet the general popular interest in these people, especially in England and America, dates from what was practically a rediscovery in the 19th century.

They owe this in the first place to the presence of Assyrian ruins in their land. Claude James Rich, Resident of the British East India Company in Bagdad, visited the ruins of Nineveh in 1820. His report excited great interest in England and America.¹ From that time begins the systematic exploration of Assyrian remains, in which A. H. Layard made for himself the greatest name.² These explorers brought back incidentally reports of the Christians they had found in those parts. Rich mentions them.³ Layard employed Nestorian workmen to excavate for him, and gives in his book a considerable account of these people.⁴ Two circumstances combined to spread this interest. One was the surprising discovery that they still talked Syriac; that this, therefore, was not a dead language, as people had supposed. It was almost as astonishing as would be the discovery of a nation which talks Hebrew. This fact seemed to give them the dignity of immemorial age. Were not these at last the real primitive Christians, unspoiled by later corruptions, still speaking the very

¹ *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Niniveh*, London, 2 vols., 1836.

² *Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 2 vols., 1849.

³ *Op. cit.* i. 275-279.

⁴ *Op. cit.* chap. viii. (i. 240-269).

language used by our Lord and his apostles? All kinds of conjectures were wildly made, including the inevitable one that the lost Ten Tribes had at last been found.¹ Another circumstance fanned the enthusiasm among Protestants. These unspoiled primitive Christians, were they Papists? By no means. They had no pictures in their churches! That alone would be enough to show the purity of their faith. But there was more and better. They said something about the Blessed Virgin which Roman Catholics did not say; they had heard of the Pope of Rome and could not abide him; they had Bibles, and were quite willing to accept more. They seem in those days to have been prepared to agree with enthusiasm to anything their Protestant visitors said. Monks? Were there monks in the Church of England? No. Then they had not any either. The Holy Eucharist? What did their honoured visitors believe about it themselves? Nothing very definite, but certainly not what the Pope says. Exactly the state of the Nestorian mind on the subject. They, too, are not very clear about it; but they are certain the Pope is wrong. So there came that wonderful myth of Mâr Shim'un and his people as the "Protestants of the East." Poor little harried sect! These well-dressed European travellers had money, power, influence. Pashas and Kaimakams trembled before them. And they were so friendly to the poor rayahs. What wonder that the rayahs were anxious to agree?

A further reason for interest in the Nestorians was their need of protection by some civilized State. They have continually been persecuted by their neighbours, notably by the fanatical Kurds who share their mountains. During the early 19th century there were endless raids of Kurds on Nestorian villages, accompanied by the massacre, rape, burning of houses and churches, which form the inner history of the Turkish Empire at all times. There had been very bad cases of this about 1830; so that the conscience of Europe was aroused, as it was at the time of the Bulgarian, Maronite and Armenian atrocities. Hitherto the wilds of Kurdistan had been practically independent of the

¹ This is the idea of Dr. Asahel Grant, of the American Independent Board of Missions: *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes*, London, 1841.

Government and a free fighting-ground for their tribes.¹ In 1834 the Government made a spasmodic effort to assert itself here, and for a time succeeded. That is to say, it sent an army and hanged everyone they met, till it got tired of it. This is an excellent proceeding and does much good as far as it goes. But they never hang quite everyone. So when the army has gone back, crowned with victory, the old state of things begins again just as before. The victorious arms of Rashid Pasha in 1834 did no good to the harmless Nestorians ; but the fuss about pacifying Kurdistan again called the attention of foreign consuls to their piteous state. So begins an invasion of Kurdistan by Protestant missionaries of various sects, who build schools and hospitals, set up printing-presses and Bible-classes. Let it be said at once that these Protestants have, all things considered, done immense good to the poor little forsaken sect. Apart from religious questions, they have at any rate taught and educated, they have nursed the sick and distributed books ; in short, they have civilized considerably. One result of their work is that numbers of Nestorians can read and write. They learn Persian and Turkish, some English, so that not a few sail away to make their fortune in America.

Mr. Joseph Wolff from England came about 1820 and secured a copy of the Syriac New Testament. He brought this back ; it was printed by the British Bible Association in 1827 and distributed in great numbers around Urmi. But among organized missions the American Presbyterians were first in the field.² In 1830 their Board of Missions sent two men, Messrs Smith and Davies, who brought back a favourable report. Dr. Julius Perkins opened a mission in 1834 ; in 1835 Dr. Asahel Grant joined him. This American mission has large buildings at Urmi ; men and women work here among the natives. They have doctors and a printing-press. Meanwhile no less interest was aroused in England. Mr. Ainsworth travelled about among the Nestorians

¹ It may be noted that this is the normal state of the Turkish Empire. All its more mountainous and wilder parts are practically independent and at the mercy of the strongest tribe which dwells there. The authority of the Government obtains in the towns where there is a garrison, and as far round as the energy of the local Wali cares to enforce it. If he neglects his duty (most Walis do), there may be anarchy within sight of the gates.

² Except, of course, the Catholics, who had been there for centuries.

and published an account of them in 1842;¹ he had received instructions to inquire into their condition from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1842 Mr. George Percy Badger, Chaplain of the East India Company, was sent out by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) and the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield). He stayed there a year, visited all the sects of Mesopotamia, and made such good use of his time as is shown in the delightful book he published on his return.² He carried friendly and complimentary letters to Mâr Shim'un from the archbishop and bishop. While he was there a Kurdish insurrection and massacre took place; the Patriarch found refuge in his house. He also made clear to the Nestorians that the Church of England only wanted to help them, not to convert them. From this time begins the very friendly feeling of Nestorians towards Anglicans. Badger was eager that an Anglican mission should be established at once; but nothing was done for some years. In 1868 a demand for missionaries to help them came to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) from Mâr Shim'un, his clergy and notables.³ In answer to this Mr. E. L. Cutts was sent out in 1876 to report,⁴ and Mr. Rudolph Wahl, an Anglican clergyman, departed to open a mission in 1881. He was not liked by the Nestorians, and was recalled in 1885. In 1886 Mr. W. H. Browne and Canon Maclean went under the guidance of Mr. Athelstan Riley, who published a report of all they saw and did till he left them.⁵ This is the beginning of the present mission of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the "Assyrian Christians." They had their headquarters till lately at Urmi; now they have moved to Van.⁶ They have schools, and a press which issues

¹ Ainsworth: *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa and Armenia*, London, 1842, 2 vols.

² G. P. Badger: *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, ed. by J. M. W. Neale, London, 1852, 2 vols.

³ A. Riley: *Report on the Foundation of the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Church* (London, 1886), p. 24.

⁴ E. L. Cutts: *Christians under the Crescent in Asia* (S.P.C.K., 1877).

⁵ Riley: *op. cit.*

⁶ In 1903 they decided to abandon Persia, leaving it to the Russians, and to make their centre at Van on the Turkish side (Heazell and Margoliouth: *Kurds and Christians*, London, 1913, pp. 165-168). Later still (1910) they proposed to move to Amadia, north of Mosul (*ib.* 209-212).

editions of Nestorian service-books. Other bodies have smaller missions. The Danish Lutherans commissioned a converted Nestorian, Nestorius George Malech, to work as a missionary for them in 1893.¹ There is a small Baptist mission.²

The Russians, too, have been active here. At one time it seemed as if the whole Nestorian body would turn Orthodox. In 1827 a number of Nestorian families fled to Russian territory at Erivan and joined the Orthodox Church.³ Later, at repeated intervals, Nestorians have asked Russia for help and protection, and have declared themselves willing to be Orthodox in return. In 1898 a Nestorian bishop, with four other clergymen, went to St. Petersburg, said they represented their nation, and abjured their heresies. They came back with Russian missionaries and made a propaganda of the Orthodox faith. The Russians built a mission-house, set up a press, and for a time made many converts.⁴ But their fair promises were not fulfilled. The Tsar sent no army to make them free and powerful; so the converts slipped back to the obedience of Mâr Shim'un. The Russian mission among them only vegetates; though occasionally one hears of Russian clergy labouring among the Nestorians still. When to all these missions we add the long-established and zealous Catholic clergy, who have built up the Uniate Chaldæan Church, we realize that the Nestorians, once themselves so great missionaries, now know what it is to be the objects of copious missionizing.

The attitude of these foreign missions towards the Nestorian sect is very curious. Of course, that of the Catholics and Orthodox is quite simple. They frankly make converts from the heretical body; with, however, this difference, that the Catholics make Uniates. A Nestorian who joins them does not give up his rite, nor any legitimate principle or custom of his nation. He abjures his heresy, acknowledges the Council of Ephesus, and so

¹ G. D. Malech: *History of the Syrian Nation* (Minneapolis, U.S.A., 1910), pp. 378-390.

² *Ib.* p. 342.

³ Avril: *La Chaldée chrétienne*, p. 22.

⁴ The Russians claimed 20,000 converts in 1900. They built an Orthodox Church at Urmi, founded forty parishes and sixty schools. See the *Échos d'Orient* (*L'Église Nestorienne*, by A. Ratel), vol. vii. (1904), p. 349. It seems that practically all Nestorians in Persia turned Orthodox, though most appear to have gone back since (*Kurds and Christians*, pp. 140-141).

returns to the state of the old Persian Church before it fell into heresy and schism. But the Orthodox have no Uniates. In joining them a Nestorian must leave his nation, accept the Byzantine rite, and become practically a Russian. This is merely the invariable difference between the uniformity always demanded by the Orthodox and the more generous toleration of the Catholic Church.

The first Protestant missionaries did not at once set up special sects. They were on very friendly terms with the Nestorian hierarchy, and rejoiced rather that they had discovered these "Protestants of the East." So we hear of their going to church with Nestorian bishops.¹ And the Nestorians, as we said (p. 116), at first encouraged them and welcomed them, no doubt thinking them the "Nestorians of the West." At any rate, here were men who abjured the Theotókos and the Pope, who cared nothing for Ephesus (or, for the matter of that, for any other council). These first Protestants did not work directly against the Nestorian hierarchy. Yet indirectly it came eventually to the same thing. They worked on the basis of the usual Protestant contempt for any rites or Church organization. They simply ignored all that, saying nothing directly against it, but teaching pure Gospel, faith alone, and so on, together with a good deal of general education and Western ideas. They propagated, besides Bibles,² such books as the *Pilgrim's Progress*³ and the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*.⁴ No doubt they foresaw that their pupils in time would discover for themselves the vanity of such things as bishops, rites and sacraments, would quietly drop away from their ancient liturgy and attend only the missionaries' prayer-meetings. At any rate, that is what happened. Now the Presbyterians have evolved an East Syrian Presbyterian sect. They have their own chapels and services, and do, as a matter of fact, make a fairly large number of converts from the Nestorian Church.⁵

¹ *E.g.* Malech : *op. cit.* p. 325.

² Dr. Perkins and Abraham Malech did the New Testament into modern colloquial Syriac.

³ In modern Syriac, Urmi, 1848.

⁴ *Ib.* 1854.

⁵ This is just what happened in the cases of Protestant missions to the Orthodox. They too did not at first attack the official Church ; but did eventually form rival religious bodies (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 256). Of

But there appear to be still some ambiguous people who are, it seems, in communion with Mâr Shim'un, although they make a purely Protestant propaganda. The most puzzling of these is Mr. Nestorius George Malech, who has translated an odd book about his nation by his father.¹ This Mr. Malech, if we may trust his own account, succeeds in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. He was educated at the Presbyterian School at Urmi, and shows us the diploma he got there.² He is an arch-deacon of the Nestorian Church, ordained by the Metropolitan, Mâr Ḥnânyeshu' (p. 132). In the same work we may contemplate a phototype of his ordination diploma.³ He is secretary of a society for "looking after the remnant of their old Church," to whom Mâr Ḥnânyeshu' sent a bishop in 1900.⁴ The society works with the bishop and pays his salary. In 1900 Mr. Malech had charge of a Nestorian Church of St. Mary at Urmi.⁵ The society has formed itself into a "Patriarchal Committee" which sends money to the Patriarch. He in return (July 15, 1908) sends them his blessing and seems to be quite pleased with them. Mr. Malech is one of the seven who form the committee.⁶ At the same time he is an active and zealous missionary of the Norwegian Lutheran Church! They have a little mission at Urmi; he is their agent and emissary there. His book (which is full of strange things) shows us his diploma as Lutheran missionary too, with the Norwegian arms; a tariff stamp "for the amount of 100 Kroner, but not exceeding 150"; his undertaking "to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in accordance with the doctrines of the evangelical Lutheran Church," and "to remain true to the evangelical Lutheran confession." For this he receives 70 kroner a month. This document is dated June 17, 1893, at Kristiania.⁷ Mr. Malech does not appear to have broken with the Lutherans in any way. The last I heard of him is that he has been collecting money from Lutherans in Norway and America, and was in

course, not all the children who attend the Presbyterian schools among Nestorians join their sect.

¹ George David Malech: *History of the Syrian Nation*, etc. (*op. cit.* p. 119, n. 1).

² *Op. cit.* p. 383.

³ P. 385.

⁴ P. 353.

⁵ P. 357.

⁶ Pp. 365, 366. See also the Patriarch's letter of Aug. 17, 1908, p. 367.

⁷ Pp. 378-380.

England for the same purpose. He has also a warm recommendation from the Patriarchal Committee.¹ In his book you may see many strange things, including portraits of his mother-in-law and son,² of his wife and of himself in six varied and astonishing costumes,³ but nothing that throws any light on the burning question what exactly he is. After mature examination of his collection of photographs, documents and infantile excursions into Church history, I am reluctantly compelled to give up the Rev. Nestorius George Malech. But the possibility of so ambiguous a person as he throws a lurid light on the state of the present Nestorians.

The attitude of the Anglican mission is no less ambiguous, but in a different way. Its beginnings were of the usual Protestant type. It proposed to educate and purify the Nestorians, without directly disturbing their organization. Mr. Badger was old-fashioned enough not to worry much about the Council of Ephesus. He loathes Popery, of course, and never fails to lay his finger on the wickedness of Uniates. Otherwise he seems to think the Nestorians very much like the Church of England, Catholic but not Roman, outwardly divided but one in spirit. His second volume examines the faith of the Nestorians in a way that must be gall and wormwood to the present missionaries. For he takes as his standard of universal orthodoxy the Thirty-nine Articles (of all things!), and tests the Nestorians, not unfavourably on the whole, by their agreement with these. For this he is scolded hard throughout the notes by Dr. Neale,⁴ who, although for some reason he does not seem to mind Monophysites,⁵ is very angry with the Nestorians. He is, naturally, hardly less angry with the Articles. So, between the two, poor Mr. Badger suffers in the notes.⁶ But since Mr. Riley went out to rejuvenate the Anglican mission it has become very High Church indeed. The

¹ P. 386.

² P. 381.

³ P. 359.

⁴ He sent his book to be edited by Dr. Neale.

⁵ E.g. Badger : *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. iii., note 1, p. 403.

⁶ For instance : vol. ii. p. 425, n. 25 : "Had Mr. Badger been more practically acquainted with the *Filioque* controversy, perhaps he would have written this paragraph differently." Note 31 (*ib.*) : "It is rather strange to have the point of Nestorian heresy alleged in proof of the Twenty-first Article." Note 14 (*ib.* p. 424) : "The flat downright heresy of this passage is well worthy notice."

missionaries now have vestments, daily celebrations, and so on. This makes their attitude towards the Nestorians all the more difficult to understand. They are not in communion with them;¹ but short of that they go every possible length. They make no converts. Their little paper² is never tired of insisting on this. They are very angry with the Roman missionaries who do make converts; they talk of the Uniates as schismatics from their lawful Patriarch. The Anglicans print books for use in Nestorian churches, they educate future Nestorian clergy, and teach their pupils the duty of obeying Mâr Shim'un. They are always at hand to counsel, encourage and support the Patriarch. Naturally this attitude is pleasant to the Nestorians; the Anglicans are on the best possible terms with Mâr Shim'un and his clergy. Only—how is it possible thus to co-operate with a heretical sect? If they thought the Nestorians one more branch of the Catholic Church, a branch long neglected, so now backward and in need of reform, their attitude would be most natural and right. But how can they think this? The Nestorians formally reject the fourth general council and honour Nestorius among the saints. If that does not make a body heretical, what does? Surely even a moderate Anglican accepts at least the first four general councils. How can these extreme High Churchmen so cavalierly ignore the fourth? Would they thus co-operate with Calvinists or Methodists? And is it not, from their own point of view, the duty of each Nestorian to leave his heretical sect and join one of the true branches of the Church, even by becoming a Uniate?

The Anglican answer to this is curious and typical. They say first that they have the blessing and approval of the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch,³ to whose obedience these Nestorians should return; secondly, that they labour for that return. They do not print any heretical matter in the books they supply,⁴ nor do they

¹ This point is quite clear. See Riley's *Report*, p. 12, n. 1.

² *Assyrian Mission Quarterly Paper* (London, Church House and S.P.C.K.), since 1890. The Rev. F. N. Heazell and Mrs. Margoliouth have edited a selection of extracts from this: *Kurds and Christians* (London, 1913). See here, p. 22: "We are not, as they feared, only another and better sort of proselytizers."

³ See the correspondence in A. Riley: *op. cit.* pp. 25-28.

⁴ This is a curious point. Apparently the Nestorians who know this fill in the omitted passages by hand. But the names of Nestorius, Bar Şaumâ,

teach heresy in their schools. Lastly, they are much inclined to find the "Assyrian Church"¹ not guilty of Nestorianism. Dr. W. A. Wigram, of this mission, distinguishes himself in this direction, and has written a book to defend the "Assyrians" from heresy.² To this the retort is obvious. The attitude of the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, if in his heart he really approves of the Anglican mission,³ is only one more case of the usual Orthodox inconsistency. His religion does not allow him to look upon Mâr Shim'un as anything but the heretical leader of a heretical sect; his co-religionists of Russia are at this very moment attacking the problem in the only possible way (according to Orthodox principles), by making converts from Nestorian to Orthodoxy. And in any case the Patriarch of Antioch can no more make co-operation with a heretical sect lawful than can anyone else. That the Anglicans do not print heretical matter for the Nestorians is, so far, good; it would be still worse if they did. But this is not enough to justify all they do. Once you admit that the Nestorian Church (or "Assyrian" Church) is a heretical sect (and how can anyone who acknowledges the Council of Ephesus do otherwise?), it is wrong to co-operate with it *in sacris* at all. It has no rights as a religious body; its Patriarch and bishops have no lawful jurisdiction, no claim to anyone's loyalty or obedience. Each member should come out of his sect into the Catholic Church⁴ at once. To encourage them to stay where they are, in the hope that some day the whole body may be converted, is to do evil that good may come of it—the very thing of which they so often and so falsely accuse us. Once more, what would these High Churchmen say to other Anglicans who co-operated thus with Congregation-

and other heretics are printed in Brightman's edition of the Liturgy (*Eastern Liturgies*, 278–279).

¹ I have commented on this odd name, now nearly always used by the Anglican missionaries, at p. 7.

² *The Doctrinal Position of the Assyrian Church* (S.P.C.K., 1908).

³ The Anglican recommendation comes from Gerasimos of Antioch (afterwards of Jerusalem, † 1897). I do not know how far the present Arab Patriarch, Gregory VII, approves of what his Greek predecessor did.

⁴ "Catholic Church," of course, in some Anglican sense. We do not expect Anglicans to act on our theory; but one may surely expect them to act on their own.

alists or Baptists.¹ Perhaps the root of the ambiguous position of the Anglican missionaries is their (typically Anglican) neglect of any idea of jurisdiction. Apart from the question of Mâr Shim'un's faith, they should consider a plain question: Has he, or has he not, any lawful jurisdiction from God? As head of a schismatical sect, outside the Church of Christ (on their own theory), of course he has not. Then he has no lawful authority, no one is bound in conscience to obey him, and it is wrong in any way to assist his usurped pretensions. The Orthodox, of course, would say this plainly. As for the heresy of the "Assyrians," we have already discussed that (pp. 81-84). A Church which officially repudiates the decrees of Ephesus, which glories in its fidelity to the theology of Nestorius and counts him among its saints, is heretical, although, no doubt, many simple souls in it do not understand much about that old controversy. Strangest of all, perhaps, is the hostility of these Anglican missionaries towards the Uniate Chaldees.² That they do not like our making converts from Anglicanism or Orthodoxy is natural enough. But they should rejoice in the Chaldees as much as in Roman Catholic converts from Lutheranism or Calvinism. The Chaldee abjures Nestorius, accepts Ephesus, and (on Anglican principles) leaves a heretical sect to enter the Catholic Church, in its largest branch. Is not this a good thing for him? When we consider further that the Chaldees have the original Patriarchal line, that Mâr Shim'un represents merely an (originally Romanist) schismatical line (p. 102), the Anglican talk about Chaldees as schismatics becomes quite unintelligible. Except, of course, on the basis (so often assumed by Protestants of all kinds) that you had better be anything, even a Nestorian heretic, than be in union with the Pope of Rome.³

¹ Their answer to this is very typical. They say: "But Protestant Dissenters have no bishops" It is the curious Anglican idea that to have a bishop makes a sect all right, or nearly all right. The Arians had bishops. Would they think it lawful to co-operate with an Arian sect?

² They are nearly as cross with the Orthodox converts. They talk about the "Russian schism" in Persia, and rejoice to find "signs of repentance" among those who turned Orthodox. They contrast with the "schism" the "old Church," meaning the Nestorians (*Kurds and Christians*, p. 153). Do they really think that sect older than the Orthodox Church?

³ This curious attitude seems characteristic of High Anglicans. Mr. Parry was sent on a mission to the Jacobites in 1892 (p. 335). He knows

But one would not leave the Anglican mission without noticing its other side. It would be ungenerous to ignore that, in spite of the confusion of their position, they are doing enormous good. These missionaries devote their lives heroically to the difficult task of educating fellow-Christians in a distant, ungrateful land. From our point of view, we should say that, short of becoming Chaldees, the Nestorians can do no better than profit by the instruction, accept the guidance, follow the edifying example of their generous Anglican guests. We, too, may wish the Anglican mission God-speed in its noble work, with the additional wish that their instructions may open Nestorian eyes even more than they themselves intend ; so that their pupils may at last seek reunion, not with the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, but with a greater Patriarch, whose authority reaches further and is more firmly based. For it was not on the bishops of Cerularius's schism that Christ built his Church.

2. The Nestorian Hierarchy

The consideration of modern missions to this ancient Church has led us somewhat from our immediate subject. We have now to describe the Nestorians as they are at present. The first point seems to be obviously their numbers and organization under their hierarchy.

The Nestorians to-day fall into two main classes : those who live in Persia, and those in the Turkish Empire. In Persia there are groups and villages of Nestorians scattered about the Province of Aserbaijan,¹ mostly in the plains bordering Lake Urmi ; there are others in the mountains towards the Turkish frontier. In Turkey they are found mostly in the Vilayet of Van. These,

that "intercommunion with a Church excommunicated by the Holy Orthodox Church is for us out of the question, until the faith as expounded at Chalcedon be formally acknowledged by her" (*Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, p. 312). Yet he abhors the Uniates, says they "cannot be considered but in the light of a schismatic body" (*ib.* 130), and always calls the Jacobites the "old Church" (*e.g.* p. 208). One wonders whether, if a Methodist joined the Church of England, Mr. Parry would consider that he left the old Church to join a schismatic body.

¹ Ađarbaiġān. Most of these appear to have gone over lately to the Russian Church (p. 119). I do not know how many have yet come back.

again, fall into two classes. Those in the mountains are called 'ashīrah (tribe).¹ They consist of families, said to be courageous

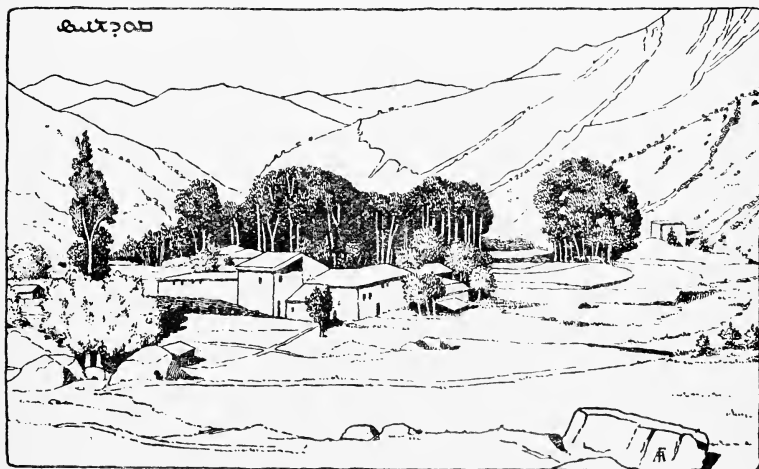


FIG. 2.—ḲUDSHANIS.

(From a photograph by the Rev. F. N. Heazell.)

and warlike, in the mountain fastnesses, practically independent of the Turkish Government—for the usual reason, because the Government cannot get at them. They flourish and fight Kurds in the wild country where the great Zab takes its rise between the lakes Van and Urmi (Tiari and Ṭhuma), pay taxes very irregularly, and really obey only Mâr Shim'un. The other group is that of the ordinary *ra'iyyah* in the open country, more accessible to the Government, and so very much more miserable in every way. A triangle between Lake Van, Lake Urmi and almost down to Mosul encloses the home of the present Nestorians. Its centre is the village Ḳudshanis, where dwells the Patriarch. South of this triangle we come to the plains around Mosul and Bagdad, now inhabited chiefly by the Uniate Chaldees. The distinction of religion is not, of course, entirely geographical. There are a few Nestorians at Mosul, in Persian towns, Armenia, perhaps at Urfah and Diyarbakr; but these are, so to say, strangers in a foreign land, just as there are some in America.

¹ From the root 'ašar (Arabic: "ten"), a group of ten families.

The total number of the Nestorians is estimated variously. Statistics in both Turkey and Persia are generally mere guesses. In any case, it is now only a small remnant. The largest number I find is given by Silbernagl, 150,000,¹ the smallest 70,000.² Cuinet, who is generally sound, gives 100,000.³ What do these people call themselves? It is generally difficult to find the technical name used by the smaller Eastern Churches for themselves, because so often they have none, calling themselves simply "Christians," or some such indefinite title. Most Nestorians if asked what they are would say simply *Mshîhâye* (Christian), or *Suryâne* (Syrian), both of which names they also give to the Jacobites. Often they distinguish themselves from us and the Orthodox as "Christians of the East." But they have not the smallest objection to the name "Nestorian." Mâr 'Ebedyeshu', Metropolitan of Nisibis, in 1298 drew up a profession of faith,⁴ which he calls "The Orthodox Creed of the Nestorians."⁵ He dates it at the end as written in September "in the year of Alexander, 1609, in the blessed city of Hlât, in the church of the blessed Nestorians."⁶ He makes a list of Church books (mentioning the "false" Synod of Ephesus),⁷ written (he says) by "Nestorian divines."⁸ Nor has their custom changed since his time. Mr. Badger heard these people call themselves *Suryâne*, *Nesûryane*, *Kristyane*, *Mshîhâye*; but never *Haldaye* (Chaldee), which is the recognized name for the Uniates. Lately a student at the Anglican mission-school shocked his teachers by writing in an essay on his people the statement: "The Syrians have taken their religion from Mâr Nestoris."⁹ So it seems that if one were to ask one of these people whether he be a Nestorian, he would answer quite simply that he is. No doubt the more educated would say that their religion is that of Christ and his Apostles, as taught and

¹ *Verfassung, u.s.w.*, p. 268.

² Herzog and Hauck: *Prot. Realenz.* (article by Petermann and Kessler), vol. xiii. p. 733.

³ Namely, 10,000 in Persia, 40,000 Turkish "rayahs," 50,000 'ashîrah Nestorians (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1892, vol. ii. p. 650). The Anglican mission agrees with this (*Kurds and Christians*, p. 12).

⁴ In Badger, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 49-51.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 49.

⁶ *Op. cit.* i. 178.

⁷ ii. 378.

⁸ i. 178.

⁹ Maclean and Browne: *The Catholics of the East*, p. 150.

defended by the blessed Nestorius—which is, of course, what every heretic says about the founder of his sect.¹

Over these people reigns the Katholikos and Patriarch, Mâr Shim'un. He is their ecclesiastical chief and practically their civil chief too ; that is to say, he is the only person they obey willingly and loyally in all things. The Turkish governors (Wâli and Kâ'immaḡām), of course, claim political authority over the Nestorians, as over all rayahs, and use it when they can ; but generally they have to count with Mâr Shim'un. The Nestorian goes to his Patriarch to have his disputes settled. The Patriarch rules thus by virtue of public opinion ; his excommunication entails a general boycott and is much dreaded.² Mâr Shim'un is, then, the recognized *ra'is* (civil head) of his "nation" ;³ the Turkish Government pays him an annual subsidy ;⁴ it is not true that he does not receive a *berat* from the Turkish Government,⁵ though in troubled times no doubt it arrived irregularly. Under him are the chiefs of tribes,⁶ who have civil authority each over his own group.

Mâr Shim'un, then, claims to represent the old line of Persian Katholikoi of Seleucia-Ctesiphon from Mari and Papa Bar Aggai (p. 102). His claim is not true. Really he represents the line of Patriarchs founded by Sulâḡâ, originally Uniate. The old line is that of the present Uniate Patriarch. Logically, then, it should be said that the old Nestorian Persian Church (represented by her hierarchy) is now Uniate, that Mâr Shim'un is head of a schism from that Church which has gone back to Nestorianism. This is what anyone would admit, were no controversial issue at stake. But since the rôles of the lines of Sulâḡâ and of Bar Mâmâ have now become so curiously reversed, non-Catholics ignore their origin, treat Mâr Shim'un as head of the old

¹ So the Danish Lutherans in their commission to N. G. Malech tell him to "preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in accordance with the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" (p. 121).

² Badger : *op. cit.* i. p. 259.

³ The *millah* (millet) of the Nestorians.

⁴ Maclean and Browne : *op. cit.* 188.

⁵ *Barâ'ah*, the diploma recognizing the Patriarch, and giving him authority from the State. See Silbernagl : *Verfassung u. gegenw. Bestand.* p. 249. I have seen a photograph of the present Patriarch's *berat*.

⁶ Called in Syriac *malkâ*, Arabic *malik*.

Persian (or "Assyrian") Church, and the real old Church as schismatic, because it is not in communion with him.

The Nestorian Patriarchate has again fallen into the great abuse of this sect; it is hereditary. There is a "Patriarchal family," as there are families of bishops—the "holders of the throne."¹ As bishops must be celibate, this means that they keep several nephews² in their house, from whom their successor will be chosen. The bishop may never eat flesh-meat, nor have eaten meat; nor may his mother have done so during her time of pregnancy. Clearly, then, the choice of a bishop may only fall on one of these Nazarites, whose lives (and for a time those of their mothers) have been arranged to prepare for election.³ The Nazarites who are not elected then often begin eating flesh-meat, marry, and so are disqualified for the episcopate. When the Patriarch dies, the notables elect one of the Patriarchal family, often a very young man, or even a child, to succeed him.⁴ He is then consecrated and enthroned by the Metropolitan (p. 132). Now that he lives at ẖudshanis, this takes place in the Patriarchal Church of Mâr Shalîṭâ.⁵ As in the case of many Eastern Churches, the form of making a Patriarch is, to all intents and purposes, an ordination, though the candidate is first ordained bishop. In their descriptions of the hierarchy they count the Patriarch distinct from a bishop, apparently in the same sense as a bishop is distinct from a priest (p. 134). Now the Patriarch-Katholikos always takes the name Simon and becomes Mâr Shim'un. He is the supreme authority over all Nestorians. In theory he can only be judged by his "brother Patriarchs"; but as he now has none who recognize him,⁶ this means that no one can judge him. But he

¹ Arab.: *nāṭir alkursi*; Syr.: *nāṭurâ kursya* (modern = *nāṭir kursî*), "guardian of the throne."

² Called also Nazarites (*nṣiri*).

³ However, this principle is not observed strictly. It seems that, in practice, abstinence for some time before ordination is considered sufficient (Dr. Wigram).

⁴ Sometimes the Patriarch chooses his own successor. The late Patriarch chose the present one a fortnight before his own death.

⁵ St. Artemius, martyr under Julian in 361; Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, i. 304. A plan of this church is given at p. 146.

The Nestorian theory is that there are five Patriarchates: Rome, Alexandria, Ephesus (since moved to Constantinople), Antioch, Seleucia-Ctesiphon—not Jerusalem (Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 189). How

must rule the Church according to the canons (see p. 135). If he does not do so, presumably this would be considered a just reason for withstanding his orders, or perhaps even for deposing him.¹ Mâr Shim'un has a large diocese of his own.² He has the right to ordain, translate, and depose all other Nestorian bishops. If the Metropolitan (p. 132) ordains a bishop, a further ceremony, very like a second ordination, must be performed by the Patriarch. The Patriarch may further ordain a priest for any diocese; he alone consecrates the holy chrism (every seven years), and blesses the antimensia.³ He can make canon and liturgical laws, he censures books, and is named in all public prayers. His income consists of a tax of about threepence, levied every three years from all men who obey him, the first-fruits (in kind) of his own diocese and a tithe of the first-fruits of other bishops, fines often imposed instead of excommunication, free gifts (sometimes of a considerable amount) made by the notables,⁴ and the Turkish subsidy.⁵ His title is: "The reverend and honoured father of fathers and great shepherd, Mâr Shim'un, Patriarch and Katholikos of the East."⁶ He uses his own Christian name before "Shim'un" at the head of his letters. His seal bears in the middle the inscription: "The lowly Simon (Shim'un), Patriarch of the East," and around: "Mâr Shim'un, who sits on the throne of the Apostle Addai."⁷ The last Patriarch, Ruwil (for Rubil = Ruben), died on March 29, 1903. A fortnight before (March 15) he had appointed his nephew Benjamin (Benyamîn) to succeed him, and had ordained him bishop. On April 12, the metropolitan, Mâr Hnân-yeshu' ordained Benjamin Patriarch. There had been a good deal of dispute and intrigue about the succession. A cousin, Mâr impossible this is will be seen from *Orth. Eastern Church*, chap. i., and from the account of the original position of their Katholikos. On no historical basis is he a Patriarch at all.

¹ Possibly by a synod of all the bishops. But such a measure would be a revolution, for which it is always impossible to draw up rules. It would almost certainly cause a schism.

² See at Qudshanis, including most of the "tribal" Nestorians; Maclean and Browne, p. 195.

³ The cloth with relics used by Nestorians as a portable altar, as it is by the Orthodox and all Eastern Churches (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 409).

⁴ Silbernagl: *ib.* 262. ⁵ He receives £100 a year from the Anglicans.

⁶ Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 185; see also the longer title, *ib.*

⁷ Silbernagl: p. 261.

Abraham, had been appointed successor formerly, and he had many adherents, chiefly among the Nestorians of the plains. It was the 'Ashīrah people who made the old Patriarch change and appoint Benjamin.¹ Mār Benyamīn Shim'un is now only twenty-seven years old. He became Patriarch at the age of seventeen.

There is now only one Metropolitan (called Maṭrān), who ranks as second after the Patriarch. He is always Mār Ḥnānyeshu'.² He has a diocese partly in Turkey and partly in Persia.³ He has the right of ordaining the Patriarch, and assists him in his government. The present Metropolitan (Isaac by baptism), a very old man, is greatly respected and has much influence. He resides at Neri, on the Turkish side of the frontier. Besides the Patriarch and the Metropolitan, the Nestorians have seven bishops in Turkey and three in Persia, of whom several have only nominal dioceses. Moreover, the limits of the dioceses often change and appear to be very uncertain.⁴ The dioceses in the plain of Urmi follow the course of the rivers, so that to belong to a certain river means to belong to the corresponding diocese. The succession of bishops is arranged usually like that of the Patriarch. There are "holders of the throne" (nephews or cousins of the bishop) brought up specially, abstaining always from flesh-meat, one of whom is chosen by the leading clergy and the notables of the diocese to succeed, and is then presented to Mār Shim'un for ordination. But this arrangement, involving a kind of heredity in certain episcopal families, is not according to the Nestorian canon law. Old custom demanded that bishops should be monks, and laws forbade a bishop to nominate his successor. But there are now practically no monks. The hereditary principle grew up as an abuse about three or four centuries ago.⁵ It still sometimes happens that, when there is no "holder of the throne" who can be ordained, a priest, no relation of the last bishop, is chosen. One of the many bad

¹ See *Échos d'Orient*, vii. (1904), pp. 290-292. Mār Abraham became a Uniate.

² "Mercy of Jesus." ³ Shamsdin in Turkey and two plains in Persia.

⁴ Two lists of bishops and sees (not agreeing) will be found in Silbernagl: *Verfassung u. gegenw. Bestand.* p. 267, and in Maclean and Browne: *The Catholicos of the East*, 195-197. It appears that the custom of a special name for each line of bishops (like Simon for the Patriarchate) is common to most sees.

⁵ Among the Uniate Chaldees it is severely discouraged (see p. 101).



FIG. 3.—THE NESTORIAN KATHOLIKOS, MÂR BENYAMIN SHIM'UN.
(From a photograph by the Rev. F. N. Heazell.)

results of the common practice is that boys, twelve years old or less, are chosen as bishops.¹ All Nestorian bishops (Efiskufâ) must now be celibate.² But priests and all the lower clergy (except, of course, monks) may not only be married, but may marry several wives in succession, and may do so after ordination. This principle, held by the Nestorians alone among Eastern Churches, is a remnant of the old bad days when, under Mazdæan influence, they had discarded celibacy altogether.

The parish priest (kahnâ, qashîshâ, qashâ) is chosen by the community, and must be accepted and ordained by the bishop. Under the bishop the Archpriest (rab kumre) counts as first in the diocese. In the bishop's absence he replaces him at certain functions. Chorepiscopi (called sâ'aure, "visitors") are not ordained bishop. They are priests having jurisdiction over a group of country parishes, whose clergy they assemble twice a year for examination and direction. The Archpriest is merely the Chorepiscopus of the city. The Archdeacon (arkîdyakunâ) looks after the bishop's finances, and acts as a kind of Vicar-General for the diocese. Under the priest come the deacon (shamâshâ, dyaqnâ), the subdeacon (hufâdyaknâ), and the reader (qârûyâ, âmurâ). The shahârâ ("awakener") is the clerk (often a reader or an old priest) who presides at the night-office, and sometimes at funerals.

The Nestorians say that their hierarchy corresponds to the nine choirs of angels, thus: 1, Patriarch (=Cherub); 2, Metropolitan (=Seraph); 3, Bishop (=Throne); 4, Archpriest (=Dominion); 5, Chorepiscopus (=Virtue); 6, Priest (=Power); 7, Deacon (=Principality); 8, Subdeacon (=Archangel); 9, Reader (=Angel).³ A curious point about these orders of the hierarchy is that each is attained by a special ordination form, with laying-on of hands. A priest who becomes a chorepiscopus, a deacon who becomes an archdeacon, is ordained, just as a priest who becomes a bishop. We should, of course, say that the making of

¹ The Nâṭir Kursi of Mâr Ḥnânyeshu' is a boy of seventeen, named Joseph (*Kurds and Christians*, p. 188).

² For the election, ordination, and rights of bishops see Silbernagl: *op. cit.*, 262-266.

³ See the *Jewel or Pearl (margânîthâ)* of 'Ebedyeshu' of Nisibis (1298), translated by Badger: *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, ii. p. 403.

a deacon, a priest, a bishop is the Sacrament of Holy Orders ; that the other ceremonies are only sacramentals, blessings at the appointment, like our minor orders. But this distinction does not appear to be very clear to Nestorians. A ceremony suspiciously like reordination, for instance, is appointed for a bishop who becomes Patriarch.

At one time monasticism flourished among the Nestorians (p. 110) ; ruins of their monasteries may be seen all over the plain of Mosul. None are now inhabited. The monastic life fell to pieces since the 14th century, especially because of the characteristic Nestorian prejudice against celibacy. Since the 14th century they admit a very easy dispensation from vows of celibacy, by which a monk can marry and return to the world.¹ Nor have they any longer convents of nuns. But a few hermits exist in Kurdistan, who live alone, under obedience to the nearest parish priest. There are also a few pious unmarried women, living with their relations, and occupied with good works. These take a vow of celibacy (always with the possibility of easy dispensation). The only monastery of this rite is the Uniate one of Rabban Hurmizd.²

All these persons (and the laity too) are governed in Church matters by canon law. Nestorian canon law is taken from three main sources. First are the "Western Synods," namely, such synods held in the empire before their schism as they recognize. Among these they count a number held against the Arians—Neo-Cæsarea in 314, Nicæa in 325, Antioch in *encæniiis* (341), Ancyra in 358, and others. Mâruthâ of Maiferkaṭ made a collection of these in 410. Later the disciplinary canons of Chalcedon (451) were added to them. Some of the acts of Western Synods are generally added to later Nestorian collections. The second main source is the collection of synods held by Katholikoi of Seleucia-Ctesiphon down to the 8th century. These are the "Eastern Synods." An unknown Nestorian collected these between the years 775 and 790. Oskar Braun published the collection in 1900 in a German translation.³ Later J. B. Chabot

¹ Canon of 'Ebedyeshu', II. 11, quoted by Silbernagl : *Verfassung, u.s.w.*, p. 272, n. 6.

² For Nestorian monks and nuns see Silbernagl : *op. cit.* 271-273.

³ O. Braun : *Das Buch der Synhados*, Stuttgart and Vienna, 1900.

published a more satisfactory edition in Syriac with a French version.¹ The book begins with the Synod of Mâr Isaac in 410, and ends with a Synod of Ḥnânyeshu' II in 775. An appendix adds the Synod of Timothy I in 790. This book of the Sun-hâdaus is the chief source of their canon law. The third source consists of all canons and laws made by Patriarchs and synods since the 8th century. These have not been codified authentically. In the 13th century, Barhebræus made an important collection of Jacobite canon law.² Fired by this example, 'Ebedyeshu' Bar Barikâ,³ Metropolitan of Nisibis († 1318), undertook the same office for the Nestorians. So he compiled a text-book from the three sources described above. This is the *Nomocanon of Ebedjesus*, the completest collection of Nestorian canon law.⁴ He quotes his sources, but is not always reliable, inasmuch as he sometimes tampers with the texts.⁵

3. The Faith of the Nestorians

The modern Nestorians have kept the faith of their fathers (since they first accepted their heresy) amid Moslems, Kurds, Yazîdis loyally. For this they deserve all honour. We should wonder at it the more, were it not the common phenomenon among all these smaller Eastern Churches. Their conservatism, their fidelity to their traditions in all things, is their most remarkable characteristic.

Of the Nestorian faith, then, not much need be said. We have little against it, save the one point of their heresy as to our Lord's

¹ J. B. Chabot : *Synodicon orientale* (Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat. xxxvii.), Paris, 1902. It is printed from a MS. written at the monastery of Raban Hurmîzd for the Uniate Patriarch Mar 'Ebedyeshu' Ḥayath, and given by him to the Bibliothèque Nationale, where it is No. 332.

² See p. 330.

³ Commonly called Ebedjesus ; an analysis of his Nomocan is given by Assemani : *Bibl. Orient.* iii. pt. i. pp. 332-351.

⁴ The *Nomocanon* or *Liber Directionum* is published by Angelo Mai in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, tom. x., in a Latin version made by Aloysius Assemani. Assemani gives an epitome of it in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii. pars. i. pp. 332-351.

⁵ For other collections of Nestorian canon law see Duval : *Littérature syriaque*, 171-183 ; Chabot : *Synodicon orientale*, 14-15.

person. They use in their liturgy the Creed of Nicæa-Constantinople, with verbal changes of no importance,¹ and understand it all (save the one point how the Son of God became man) as we do. This one point has been explained at some length already (pp. 82-86). They believe that there are in Christ two natures (*kyâne*), two hypostases (*knume*) and one prosopon (*parşufâ*) of union. They reject the Council of Ephesus, declare that they stand for the teaching of Nestorius, count him among their saints (p. 84), and always refuse to our Lady her title Theotókos. They anathematize Cyril of Alexandria and those who agree with him. Therein lies their heresy.² Further, they seem to be involved in something like the Iconoclast heresy. They have no holy pictures in their churches or houses, and they abhor the idea of a holy picture.³ This seems to be a fairly modern development, perhaps under Moslem influence. There are in Uniate Churches around Mosul paintings of saints and angels, made by native artists long before the union.⁴ But all Nestorians have a profound veneration for the Cross. They put crosses (not crucifixes) in their churches, on their monuments and documents, and treat these crosses with enormous respect.⁵ They admit the Deuterocanonical books of Scripture,⁶ grace, freewill, the value of good works.⁷ They pray much for the dead and give alms for them; though they are

¹ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 270-271; Wigram: *The Assyrian Church*, 290-293.

² Their service on the feast of the "Greek Doctors" (the fifth Friday after Epiphany) contains these anathemas: "Woe and woe again to all who say that God died . . . who say that Mary is the mother of God . . . who do not confess in Christ two natures, two persons (hypostases), and one parsopa of filiation. Woe and woe again to the wicked Cyril and Severus" (Badger: *op. cit.* ii. 80). Plainly these people cannot be acquitted of heresy. Mâr Hnânyeshu' is now prepared to drop the anathemas (*Kurds and Christians*, p. 189).

³ Mr. Ainsworth tells the story of a crucifix shown to the Patriarch by a Catholic missionary. The Patriarch was filled with horror, cried out: "Oh the infidels! the blasphemers!" and said it could only be the work of Jews, who wished to mock Christ's agony (*Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 249).

⁴ A. d'Avril: *La Chaldée chrétienne*, p. 14.

⁵ Badger: *op. cit.* 132-136.

⁶ Badger: *op. cit.* ii. 82-88.

⁷ *Ib.* 98-110. No Eastern Church has any trace of Calvinism. If anything, they err in the direction of semi-Pelagianism. See *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 252-253.

quite willing to assure their Anglican benefactors that they do not hold with the Pope about Purgatory.¹ They honour relics and use dust from the tombs of saints (called *ḥnāna*, "grace") as a kind of charm.² They invoke our Lady and other saints constantly in their liturgy and prayers. They are (like most Easterns) rather vague as to the number of the Sacraments, inasmuch as they have not yet conceived a special class of rites distinct from the large number of what we call Sacramentals. Joseph Assemani thought that they have only three real Sacraments: Baptism, Holy Eucharist, Holy Orders. But they hold the number seven, though (like the Orthodox at one time) they are not quite sure which the seven are. The Nestorian Patriarch Timothy II (1318-1360) gave as the seven Sacraments: (1) Holy Orders; (2) the consecration of a church and altar; (3) Baptism and Holy Oil (=Confirmation); (4) the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood; (5) the blessing of monks; (6) the Office for the Dead; (7) Marriage. Then he adds as a supplement: "Indulgence, or penance and the forgiving of sins."³ Mr. Badger says that they now "generally allow": (1) Orders; (2) Baptism; (3) the Oil of Unction; (4) the Oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ; (5) Absolution; (6) the Holy Leaven; (7) the Sign of the Cross.⁴ Putting these two lists together, we have all our seven Sacraments, with some additions, such as consecrating a church and the Holy Leaven (see p. 150). Their liturgical books have a form for confession and absolution,⁵ but its use is now practically extinct among them. The modern Nestorian does not confess his sins; I am told,⁶ because the clergy cannot keep the seal. They believe the Holy Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice.⁷ In their creed, of course, they have not the *Filioque* clause. They do not seem to have considered the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost much; sometimes they deny the double procession.⁸

¹ Making the usual mistake of thinking material fire in Purgatory part of the Roman faith (Badger: *op. cit.* 130-131). Their attitude seems to be exactly that of the Orthodox (*Orth. Eastern Church*, 388-390).

² Badger: *ib.* 137.

³ Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* iii. (1) 356; iii. (2), 240.

⁴ *Op. cit.* ii. 150.

⁵ *Ib.* 155-159.

⁶ By a former Anglican missionary.

⁷ Badger: *op. cit.* ii. 176.

⁸ So 'Ebedyeshu' of Nisibis in his *Jewel*, part iii. chap. 4 (Badger: *op. cit.* ii. 399-400)—at least by implication.

But Mr. Badger quotes Nestorian writers who say plainly that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.¹ With regard to what they hold about the Church, it is difficult to understand exactly their position. They certainly believe that they alone hold the true faith as to our Lord's nature and person—that all who did agree with them have fallen away on this point. They say so plainly; they divide Christendom into three sects, the Monophysites, Melkites (including Franks), and the "Easterns" (themselves), who alone "never changed their faith, but kept it as they received it from the Apostles." Both the other sects are refuted from the Bible.² So it would follow that all others are heretics, that the whole and only true Church of Christ is the tiny handful which obeys Mâr Shim'un. Yet I doubt whether really they would have so magnificent a courage of their convictions. Probably, especially now under Anglican influence, they have evolved some cloudy kind of Branch theory—themselves being the purest branch. One wonders whether the American Presbyterians and the Danish Lutherans (with the ambiguous Nestorian archdeacon and Lutheran missionary Nestorius George Malech) are branches. And it would be very interesting to know what Mâr Shim'un really thinks of the orthodoxy, orders and ecclesiastical position of his Anglican advisers.³

Needless to say, Nestorians entirely reject the universal primacy and infallibility of the Pope, though they acknowledge him as first of the Patriarchs.⁴ If they were consistent they could not give him even this honour, since he is steeped in Ephesian and monohypostatic error, being himself a mighty leader of Ephesian heretics.

Nestorian theology, then, in general, is only half developed and cloudy, as is that of all smaller Eastern Churches. The worst

¹ *Ib.* ii. 79. Dr. Neale is very angry with this and will not admit it (p. 425, n. 25). Badger is an old-fashioned Anglican who takes the Thirty-nine Articles seriously; so Neale falls foul of him each time, whether he says "the sacramental character of Penance is denied by the Church of England" (ii. 154), or whether he stands up for the *Filioque* because of Article V.

² *Jewel*, iii. 4-5 (*ib.* pp. 399-401).

³ For Anglicans certainly accept Ephesus. As for Anglican orders, presumably Nestorians know nothing at all about them, except what they are told by Anglicans themselves.

⁴ See p. 130, n. 6.

fault of these pious mountaineers is a tendency to assure promiscuous Protestant visitors that at bottom they agree with them on all sorts of points. As so often happens, the danger of Roman propaganda, their fear and dislike of the Uniates, leads them to welcome alliance with anyone who is against the Pope, who assures them that he seeks not to turn them into enslaved Chaldees.

4. Nestorian Rites

Their rites and liturgy are perhaps the most interesting thing about the Nestorians. Certainly most of the interest which the West takes in this obscure little sect is because of its liturgy. For these people in their remote mountains still keep and use one of the great historic rites of Christendom.

The East Syrian rite evolved in Edessa before the 4th century. Saint Ephrem used and quotes it.¹ The Syriac (Jacobite) poet James of Srug († 521)² and Philoxenos of Hierapolis († 523)³ gave further information about the East Syrian rite of their time. Two fragments written in the 6th century in a Coptic monastery in Egypt (now in the British Museum) show an unexpected use of what is fundamentally the East Syrian rite in that country,⁴ apparently by Nestorian colonies (p. 104).

The origin of this rite is much discussed. Liturgies are not composed as original works at some definite date ; a new rite does not suddenly spring out of nothing. Their development is always gradual modification from an earlier form, till we come back to the original rite, fluid in details but uniform in type, of the first three centuries.⁵ If we suppose the generally admitted principle that the origin of all Eastern rites is either Antioch or Alexandria,

¹ See Probst : *Liturgie des 4ten Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1893), pp. 308-318.

² Bishop of Batnan (Duval : *Littérature syriaque*, 352-356).

³ Also an ardent Jacobite. His name in Syriac is Aḡšnâyâ (Xenaias, see Duval : *ib.* 356-358). Hierapolis is Syriac Mabug, Arabic Manbiğ, on the Euphrates.

⁴ A list of later writers from whom information about this rite may be gathered will be found in Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, pp. lxxx-lxxxi.

⁵ Liturgies develop by modification as do languages. They too have dialects and groups of related forms. See Fortescue : *The Mass* (Longmans, 1912), chaps. i.-ii.

we must count this one as (remotely) Antiochene. It certainly does not come from Egypt. Moreover, as opposed to the Alexandrine group, it has Antiochene features, such as the litany-form of public prayer; though the Intercession comes before the Consecration.¹ The Calendar, too, shows traces of Antiochene arrangement. On the other hand, if it is Antiochene, it is only remotely so. If originally it was the rite of Antioch² which came to Edessa, it evolved there into something very unlike its original form. The East Syrian rite lacks a great number of peculiarities which we associate with Antioch. So some writers do not see sufficient reason to class it under Antioch at all. It stands apart from the great liturgical group of Apostolic Constitutions VIII, St. James, the Jacobite, Byzantine, and Armenian rites; and so they count it as forming a class of its own.³

This ancient Edessene or East Syrian rite then naturally spread to Persia⁴ with the Edessene missionaries. It was used in the Persian Church, and then by all Nestorians. It is their speciality; while Jacobites have the liturgy of Jerusalem-Antioch, and the Orthodox since the 13th century that of Constantinople.⁵

The books used in this rite have not all been translated. The holy liturgy in the strict sense (the Eucharistic service) is naturally what has most been studied. There are many versions and editions of this (p. 151, n. 4). Of the other functions only fragments can be read in a European language.

The services of the East Syrian rite are first the Divine Office (the Canonical Hours), which should be said daily in every church. They are *Ramshā* (*dramshā*—"at evening") corresponding to

¹ Just before the anaphora. The Antiochene place is after the Consecration.

² In any case before the development of Antioch-Jerusalem represented by St. James's liturgy (*The Mass*, pp. 80-84).

³ So Baumstark: *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Kempten and Munich, 1906), 48-52. Renaudot thinks that the reason why Nestorians did not keep the Antiochene rite is that their sect was not formed of native Syrians so much as of fugitives from all parts of the empire, who gathered at Edessa and then in Persia (*Lit. Orient. Coll.* ii. pp. ii-iii).

⁴ Brightman calls it "the Persian rite" (*Eastern Liturgies*, 245-305).

⁵ The Uniate Chaldees, of course, have the same rite (corrected) as the Nestorians.

our Vespers¹ or to the Byzantine 'εσπερινόν, sung just after sunset. Then comes the *Subā'ā* ("perfecting"), Compline or ἀπόδειπνον. This is now sung only during the great Lent, at the "Fast of the Ninevites" (p. 148), and on certain vigils, when it is joined to Ramshâ. The night-office (Nocturns, μεσονύκτιον) is *Šluthâ dlilyâ* ("prayer at night"); then comes *Shahrâ* (vigil), to be sung at dawn (Lauds, ὄρθρος). The first day-prayer is *Šluthâ dšafrâ* ("morning-prayer," our Prime). As a matter of fact, the night-office is now rarely said. *Shahrâ* and *Šluthâ dšafrâ* are joined together as the morning prayer, and the *Šluthâ dlilyâ*, if said at all, is also joined to this. There are, then, in practice two prayers in the day—at morning and evening. The people are summoned to these by the sound of a wooden Semantron,² and attend very religiously at the public morning and evening prayers.³ The other services are, of course, first of all the holy liturgy; then baptism, ordination, marriage and other sacraments, funerals, the consecration of churches, and various blessings, sacramentals and so on.

The books in which these rites may be found are many and confused. It is a result of the archaic state of the Nestorian Church that its books have not yet been codified and arranged in an ordered scheme. There are, as a matter of fact, various alternative collections of prayers and services which overlap; so that the same matter may be found in different books. In this primitive state of liturgical books there does not seem any reason why a man should not write out the prayers of any collection of services he likes and call it by some suitable name. The usual books are: for the holy liturgy the *Ṭaksâ* (τάξις)⁴ of the liturgies. With this are often bound up the *Ṭaksâ d'mâdâ* (rite of baptism), the *Ṭaksâ dšyâmîdâ*⁵ (rite of ordination), and other services, to make a book corresponding to the Byzantine εὐχολόγιον.⁶ The

¹ As in all Eastern rites, the liturgical day begins with its first vespers.

² A piece of wood struck with a hammer; now being supplanted by bells copied from Russia (Maclean and Browne: *The Catholics of the East*, p. 213).

³ For the composition of these services see below, p. 149.

⁴ *Ṭaksâ* is a general name for the order of any service, as we say *Ritus*. So there is the *Ṭaksâ* of baptism (*ritus baptismi*), and so on.

⁵ *Syâm îdâ*, imposition of hands.

⁶ So the Chaldaean (Uniate) book is: *Ṭaksâ drâzâ 'am neḡpayâthâ* (the Book of the Mystery with continuations).

deacon's part of the service is sometimes written in a separate book (*Shamâshuthâ*, διακονικόν). The lessons are contained in three books; the *Keryânâ* ("readings") contain the Old Testament and Acts, the *Ewangeliyun*, the Gospels, and the *Shlihâ* ("Apostle"), the Epistles of St. Paul. The Choir uses the *Dauîdâ* (Psalter), the *Hudrâ* ("circle") containing the variable chants for all Sundays, the *Kâshkul* ("containing all") for the week-days, and the *Turgâmâ* ("interpretation"), in which are found the verses sung between the lessons, like our Gradual. These books also contain part of what is wanted for the Divine Office. They are further supplemented by the *Gazâ* ("treasury"),¹ the *Wardâ* ("rose"),² which supply certain variable hymns and anthems; also the *Kdâm wadathar* ("before and after"), containing selections from the psalter and prayers for Sundays and week-days. The *Abu-ha'im* (called after its composer) has collects for the end of the Night-prayer on Sundays. The *Bauthâ dnînwâye* ("nocturn of the Ninevites") has metrical hymns ascribed to St. Efrem, said at the Fast of the Ninevites. Besides these are books containing special offices, those of baptism (*mâdâ*) and ordination (*Syâmîdâ*), mentioned above, those for the marriage-service (*Brâkâ*, "blessing"), for the burial of clergy (*Kahnuthâ*, "priesthood") and laymen (*anîdâ*, "funeral"). The *Taksâ dhusâyâ* ("rite of mercy") gives the services for reconciling penitents and for absolution. There are other books containing other functions.³

From this it will be seen that the Nestorian liturgical books are in a bewildering state of confusion. It is no light matter to put together any given service from the various books used in it. Nor do they always know their own books. The difficulty is avoided to a great extent by the fact that singers know vast quantities of the services by heart.⁴ The chief books have been printed (in Syriac) by the Anglican mission.⁵ The Dominicans at Mosul and

¹ Γάζα; Persian: *Gang*.

² Arabic: *ward*.

³ For Nestorian service-books see Badger: *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, ii. 16-25; and Maclean and Browne: *The Catholicos of the East*, 229-233.

⁴ Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* p. 232.

⁵ But apparently incompletely, inasmuch as the Anglicans leave out the names of heretics (Nestorius, etc.) and obviously heretical matter. Rather a feeble compromise, if one is going to print the service-books of a heretical sect at all. The Nestorians, I am told, who buy and use these books, supply in manuscript or from memory what the Anglicans have omitted.

the Lazarist missionaries publish the Chaldæan books, which

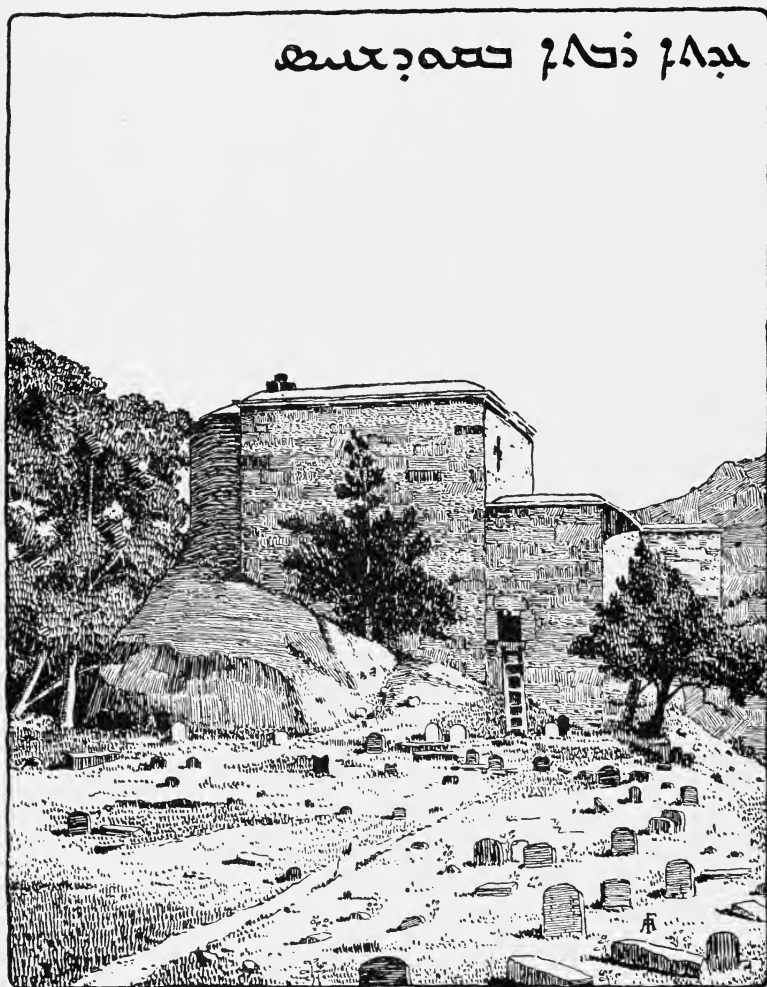


FIG. 4.—THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH AT QUDSHANIS.

(From a photograph by the Rev. F. N. Heazell.)

correspond, but have been revised and corrected at Rome. These Chaldæan books also are arranged on a more systematic way, under the influence of our liturgical books.

Nestorian churches are mostly small and poor ; though some are of considerable antiquity and archæological interest, and a few fairly large and handsome. The Moslem law, till the other day, was that Christians might repair their existing churches, but not build new ones.¹ On the outside the churches have no conspicuous sign to proclaim what they are (and so attract the fanaticism of Kurds and Turks)—only a small plain cross over the door, which is kissed by people as they go in. A special feature, now almost a recognized tradition (at least in Turkey), is that the only entrance to the church is by one very low and narrow door, about three feet high (often less), through which one stoops and crouches to go in. This is said to be so made in order that everyone be forced to bow as he enters the holy place. The real reason is no doubt to prevent Kurds driving their cattle into the church. Inside, the nave is divided from the sanctuary by a wall right up to the roof which is pierced by an arched opening about five or six feet wide. The division, then, is more marked than in Byzantine churches by the Ikonostasion. There is a curtain which can be drawn across this arch, sometimes doors as well. Outside the sanctuary wall is a platform, as high as the sanctuary ; then steps down and a low wall broken in the middle, something like our communion-rail. Against this low wall are one or more tables (not really altars) on which rest books and a cross, kissed by the faithful on entering and leaving. The choir stands in a group on one side in front of this low wall. The Divine Office is sung in the nave ; sometimes (as in the Patriarchal church at Kudshanis) there is an open-air chapel, partly roofed over, at the side of the church, with another table for the cross, where the office is sung in summer. Inside the sanctuary² is a raised platform under a canopy. On this stands the altar, generally adorned with a plain cross, two candles and the gospel-book. A lectern for reading the gospel is moved to the sanctuary-arch during the liturgy. There are cupboards in the sanctuary for the holy oils and vessels. The

¹ I do not know how far this has been modified by the new Constitution. But for some time back it was possible to evade the law by bribery, and to obtain a *firman* for building a new church. A great number of Christian churches of all sects were built all over the Turkish Empire in the 19th century.

² *Kdush kdushe*, " Holy of holies."

baptistery forms a room leading out of the sanctuary or nave. It is often also used as a vestry, and generally has a stove for

baking the bread to be consecrated.¹

Nestorian churches are called after our Lady (Mârt Mary-am), the ap-

ostles or other saints, very often after a martyr of the Persian persecutions or their own hermits or bishops. Everyone takes off his shoes in church, but the turban or *ṭarbūsh* only during services. The clergy in ordinary life do not wear a special dress; in the mountains they often have a black turban. Bishops generally wear a long robe, like a cassock, and the usual turban. The ton-

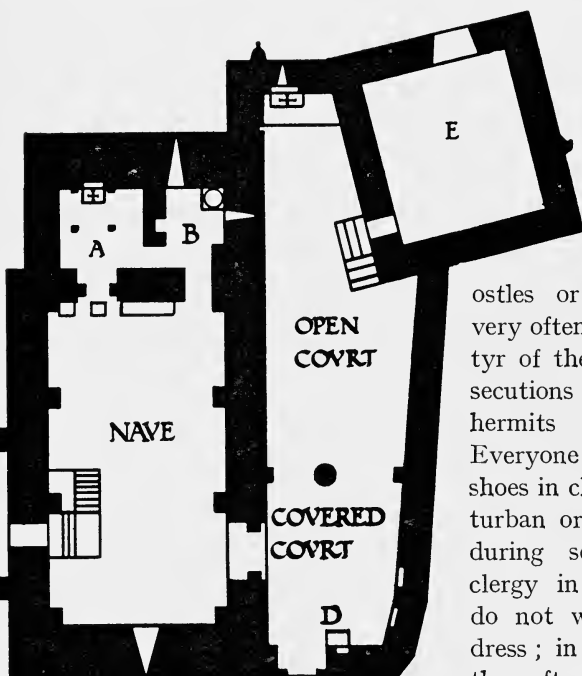


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH AT ẖUDSHANIS.

A, Sanctuary; B, Baptistery; C, Place for baking the holy bread; D, Entrance (by ladder); E, Room where Rabban Yuḥanân (Yonan) lived.

sure, though prescribed by the canons, at least for monks, is not now worn; but all the clergy have a beard. To shave the beard is a sign of degradation and a punishment inflicted by the Patriarch for certain offences.²

The universal liturgical vestment is the tunic, called *kuthinā* (χιτών), corresponding to the *στοιχάριον* or alb. It is girdled by a

¹ See plan of the Patriarchal church (Mâr Shaliṭâ) at ẖudshanis above. Plans of other churches in Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* pp. 296, 301. The inside of a large church at Mosul in Badger: *op. cit.* ii. pp. 20-21.

² Maclean and Browne, pp. 97, 204.

belt, *zunârâ* (ζωνάριον). Subdeacon and deacon wear a stole (*urârâ*, ὠράριον); the subdeacon winds it from the left shoulder under the right arm,¹ the deacon's stole hangs straight down from the left shoulder. The priest's (and bishop's) stole is made like the Byzantine ἐπιτραχήλιον, hanging down in front like ours, but sewn together (or rather one piece) with a hole through which to put the head. The garment corresponding to our chasuble (*kafîlâ*, *ḥakîlâ*, *ḥainâ*, *ma'ḥrâ*) is the same as the Byzantine φαινόλιον, except that it is not permanently joined in front. It looks then exactly like our cope without a hood. It is worn by priests and bishops, and is used as both cope and chasuble. They have no omophorion.² Bishops wear a kind of embroidered amice, called *birunâ*, over the head; they carry a pastoral staff (*ḥuṭrâ*) and a small cross with which they bless the people. They have no liturgically fixed colours.³

The East Syrian Calendar is based on the Julian reckoning (Old Style), for the months, and on the "Era of the Greeks,"⁴ namely from 311 B.C., for the years. They now know and begin to use the ordinary Christian reckoning for the years. The ecclesiastical year is divided into nine periods of, more or less, seven weeks each. Each of these is called a *shabu'â* ("seven"). The year begins with *Subârâ* ("annunciation") on December 1;⁵ *Subârâ* has four Sundays as preparation for Christmas, and so corresponds exactly to our Advent. The second *Shabu'â* is of the Epiphany; the third is the Great Fast (Lent) beginning the seventh Monday before Easter; the fourth is the *Shabu'â* of the Resurrection (to Pentecost); the fifth that of

¹ This is the theory in the case of the subdeacon and all lesser clerks, as the Byzantine lesser clerks were the epitachelion. But, as a matter of fact, no subdeacon is now ordained (see p. 157).

² J. Braun: *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident u. Orient* (Freiburg i. Br., 1907), p. 666.

³ No Eastern Church has. Sequence of colour is a late and purely Western feature. For Nestorian vestments in general see Assemani: *Bibl. Or.* iii. pt. ii. pp. 682-683; J. Braun: *op. cit.* under each heading; Maclean: *East Syrian*.

⁴ Namely, of the Seleucids.

⁵ The Kalendars usually begin with the month of Tishrin 1 (October), and popular calculation often counts the Epiphany as the beginning of a new year (*cf.* Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* p. 328).

the Apostles (six Sundays) ; the last of these Sundays is the Sunday of the twelve Apostles and the first of the next Shabu'â (of summer). This Shabu'â (the sixth) lasts till the seventh Sunday after that of the Apostles. Then begins the seventh Shabu'â, of Elias. Two Sundays of Moses and four of the Dedication (of the Churches) form the eighth and ninth Shabu'e.¹ There are four fasts in the year: Subârâ (Advent), lasting twenty-five days (counted back from Christmas) ; the *Fast of the Ninevites*, namely the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday beginning twenty days before the Great Fast, in memory of the penance of Nineveh when Jonas preached ; then the Great Fast, forty-nine days before Easter ;² and the Fast of St. Mary from August 1 to August 15.³ The fasts include Sundays, and are kept, as by all Eastern people, exceedingly severely. Every day is what we should call a "black fast," including abstinence from flesh-meat, lactinia, eggs and all animal produce. All Wednesdays and Fridays are days of abstinence.

The chief feast is, of course, Easter ('*ad'idâ kabîrâ*, "great feast"). Christmas (December 25) is the "little feast" ('*ad'idâ kâlîmâ*). The Epiphany (January 6) is also a great day ; it is the Feast of the Baptism of our Lord, as with all Easterns. Other great feasts are Lady-day, Ascension-day, Whitsunday, the Transfiguration, Death of St. Mary (August 15), Holy Rood (September 13), etc. The main part of their Calendar consists of movable feasts, not fixed to a day of the month, but falling on a certain week-day after a Sunday—mainly determined by Easter. Thus all Fridays are feasts of great Saints : the Friday after the first Sunday after Epiphany is St. Peter and St. Paul, the next Friday the Four Evangelists, the next St. Stephen, and so on. Mâr Addai is on the fifth Sunday after Easter, Mâr Mâri on the second Friday of the summer Shabu'â. Mâr Nestorius comes with Diodore and Theodore as the "Greek Doctors" on the Friday

¹ Nilles : *Kalendarium manuale*, ii. 681. Maclean and Browne (p. 350) count four Sundays of Moses. Their number, and the number of those after Epiphany, must depend on whether Easter falls early or late.

² Sometimes they begin this fast on the Sunday (our Quinquagesima), making it last fifty days.

³ Like the Byzantine Fast of the Holy Mother of God ; only, with the Nestorians it is, of course, not "of the Mother of God."

after the fourth Sunday after Epiphany. Maundy Thursday is the "Passover," Good Friday is "Friday of Suffering" (alitur-gical), Holy Saturday "the Great Sabbath" or "Sabbath of Light."¹

We have already noted the order of the Divine Office, now practically morning and evening prayer (p. 142). It consists of psalms, collects, anthems, and many special compositions, hymns in rhythmical prose like the Byzantine τροπάρια. The psalter is divided into twenty portions called *hulâle* ("praises") like καθίσματα. The Lord's Prayer and psalms are often farced. All the services are said in classical Syriac, of which the common people understand perhaps as much as modern Greeks or Russians do of their services. All is sung in the strange enharmonic cadences which Eastern people know by heart. A careful and interesting description of the office will be found in Maclean and Browne: *The Catholicos of the East*.² This book is so easily accessible that it does not seem worth while to repeat the account here. Instead, as a specimen of Nestorian prayer, the *Lâk mârâ* ("Thee, O Lord") may serve; it is a short responsory occurring constantly in all their services: "Thee, Lord of all, we confess; and thee, Jesus Christ, we glorify; for thou art the quickener of our bodies, and thou art the saviour of our souls.*I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord.*Thee, O Lord, etc.*Glory be to the Father, etc. From everlasting to everlasting, Amen.*Thee, O Lord, etc."³

In all Christian Churches the Holy Eucharist is the chief rite. The Nestorians celebrate it rarely, on the chief feasts—not even every Sunday.⁴ It is celebrated early in the morning, except on fast-days, when it sometimes comes in the afternoon. Everyone who receives Communion must be fasting from midnight. The

¹ The whole Nestorian Calendar is given by Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, ii. 684–688. See also Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 346–352.

² Chap. x., *The Daily Services*, pp. 212–242.

³ *Ib.* 219. This prayer is attributed to Simon Bar Šabbâ'e (see p. 41). The Syriac text, with the notes to which they sing it (but made chromatic), will be found in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* for 1898, p. 231.

⁴ *Ib.* 243–244. The usual Syrian name for the rite of the Holy Eucharist (corresponding to our word "Mass") is *Ḳurbânâ* (Ar. *Ḳurbân*, "oblation"), also *Ḳudâšhâ* (Ar. *Ḳudâšh*, "holy thing"). *Laḥmâ ḍḳudâšhâ* ("Bread of holiness") is the Blessed Sacrament.

celebrant and deacon should by law first have taken part in the evening prayer the day before, and in the night and morning prayer. Normally there is only one Liturgy in the same church on one day.

They have a curious belief about the "holy leaven,"¹ sometimes even counting this as one of the seven Sacraments (p. 138). Namely, they say that St. John the Baptist kept some of the water which fell from our Lord at his baptism. He gave this to St. John the Apostle. At the last supper our Lord gave St. John two loaves. St. John mixed one with the baptism water and with the blood which flowed from our Lord on the cross. The Apostles then ground this to pieces, mixed it with flour and salt, and divided it amongst themselves, so that the leaven of the body and blood of our Lord should always remain in the Church. The Nestorians believe that they have this still, alone among Christians. Nestorius, when he was deposed, took it with him and left the West without it. They renew this "holy leaven" each Maundy Thursday. What remains from last year is mixed with fresh flour, salt and oil by the priest and deacon, in a special service. It is then kept in a vessel in the sanctuary all the year, and a small portion is mixed with the bread for the Holy Eucharist before each liturgy. No liturgy may be celebrated without it.

Most Eastern liturgies begin with a preparation of the bread and wine to be consecrated.² The Nestorians begin at the very beginning by first baking the bread. The celebrant and the deacon³ mix flour and yeast⁴ with a little oil and some warm water, in the baptistery or other place where the oven for this purpose may be. The celebrant breaks off some for the *antidoron* and some to mix with that of the next liturgy after this one.⁵ He

¹ Called *malkâ* (king).

² The Byzantine προσκομιδή. It is really the offertory act, which takes place at the beginning of the whole service.

³ They wear the tunic, girdle, and their respective forms of stole (p. 147). The celebrant puts on the *ma'prâ* at the beginning of the liturgy of the faithful (p. 153).

⁴ Their Eucharistic bread is, of course, leavened.

⁵ This is another principle, to mix some of the bread from the last liturgy with that now being prepared. This is meant to emphasize the unity of the sacrifice, like the old Latin *sancta* and *fermentum* (Fortescue: *The Mass*, pp. 174-175, 366-370).

brings the vessel containing the holy leaven from the sanctuary and mixes a small portion of that with what he has prepared. So he makes the loaves, at least three (there should be seven), stamps each with a wooden stamp, puts a little incense on the fire and bakes them. Then they are put on the paten (much larger than ours) and carried to a recess in the sanctuary. He pours wine into the chalice with water. During all this preparation he says psalms (three *ḥulāle*, Ps. i.-xxx.) and prayers.¹ The deacon sweeps the sanctuary and makes all ready. To save time all this is generally done while the choir are saying morning prayer. Then the semantron is struck and the people are summoned to the holy liturgy.

There are now three liturgies, those of the "holy apostles (Addai and Mari)," "of Nestorius," and "of Theodore the Interpreter." Once they had others. Liturgies "of Bar Ṣaumâ," "of Narse," "of Diodore of Tarsus" are mentioned, but are no longer extant.² Of the three now used, the liturgy of the Apostles³ is the normal one, presumably the oldest, which represents the ancient East Syrian rite by direct descent. The other two are fragments completed as to the rest by parts of the liturgy of the Apostles. In other words, when they are used, certain parts of the normal rite are left out and the corresponding parts of one of these two are substituted. The *Ordo communis* (that is, the pro-anaphoral part and the prayers after Communion) is always that of the Apostles. The liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius are practically only alternative anaphoras, with a few special prayers in the *Ordo communis*. All Nestorian liturgies have been translated and edited many times.⁴ None of the ascriptions of these three rites (to Addai and Mari, Theodore, Nestorius), except perhaps the last, is to be taken seriously. The normal one is, as we have noted, merely the old rite of Edessa, presumably having come there

¹ For these see Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, pp. 247-252.

² See Brightman: *op. cit.* p. lxxx.

³ Not the twelve apostles, but Addai and Mari.

⁴ Renaudot gives all three: *Liturgiarum orient. collectio* (ed. ii., Frankfurt, 1847), ii. 578-632. Badger translates the Liturgy of Nestorius (*The Nestorians and their Rites*, ii. chap. xlii. pp. 215-243); Brightman gives that of the Apostles (*Eastern Liturgies*, 247-305); Maclean and Browne describe the same rite (*op. cit.* 247-265).

originally from Antioch, but considerably modified in the East (p. 141). The Theodore anaphora is a not very important variant of this, with, however, one important difference (p. 155). The so-called Nestorius anaphora is considerably different. It has long been suspected of being a foreign element, imported independently from somewhere else. Dr. A. Baumstark has now, perhaps, solved the riddle. By a careful comparison he shows its close resemblance, not only in arrangement, but in many liturgical forms, with the Byzantine St. Basil rite. He concludes that it is nothing but the old rite of Constantinople, with heretical modifications, which may be the work of Nestorius himself, translated into Syriac by Mârabâ I (536-552; see p. 82).¹

On the Sundays from Advent to Palm Sunday the liturgy of Theodore is used; on five days—namely, the Epiphany, St. John the Baptist (Friday after Epiphany), the Greek Doctors (Friday after the fourth Sunday after Epiphany), Wednesday of the Fast of the Ninevites (p. 148), and Maundy Thursday—that of Nestorius. On all other days the Holy Eucharist, if celebrated, has the rite of the Apostles. The order of this, in outline, is as follows: After the preparation of the offerings the celebrant and deacon begin the Enarxis.² They say the beginning of the *Gloria in excelsis* (l.c. ii. 14), the Lord's Prayer, some psalms farced, the "anthem of the sanctuary," Lâk mârâ (p. 149), Ps. xxv. 6 ("Lavabo"), and a few other prayers. Then begins the liturgy of the catechumens. The Trisagion is sung. Two lessons (normally from the Old Testament and Acts) are read by lectors at the platform outside the sanctuary wall, inside the low wall.³ An antiphon, called *shurâyâ* ("beginning"), generally consisting of a farced psalm (*προκείμενον*, "gradual"), is sung. The deacon reads the "apostle" (always from an epistle of St. Paul), and the choir answers: "Glory be to the Lord of Paul." Incense is blessed and burnt, the Alleluia is sung with verses called *zumârâ* ("chant"), then a long anthem (*turgâmâ*, "interpretation"), and the celebrant reads the

¹ A. Baumstark: *Die Chrysostomosliturgie u. die syrische Liturgie des Nestorios*, in *Chrysostomika* (Rome, 1908), pp. 771-857.

² Ἐνάρξις, the opening of all Eastern rites. The Nestorian enarxis is modelled on the beginning of their evening prayer (Ramshâ).

³ In practice these are very often omitted.

gospel of the day. The "anthem of the gospel" follows, ending the liturgy of the catechumens.

The liturgy of the faithful begins with a long litany (the Antiochene-Byzantine *συναπτή*).¹ This is the prayer of the faithful. It follows the usual order—petitions for all classes. The people answer: "O our Lord, have mercy on us," and then to a second list of petitions: "Amen." It ends like the Antiochene and Byzantine forms: "Let us commit our souls and one another's souls to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost." Meanwhile, the celebrant incenses the altar and puts on the *ma'prâ* (chasuble) which has been lying on it. He says a prayer aloud, summing up the petitions of the prayer of the faithful. A blessing by the celebrant (the "Inclination") follows, and then, rather late, the deacon says the form of dismissing the catechumens.² Now the bread and wine are brought to the altar; they are again offered and covered with a veil. The "anthem of the mysteries" is sung; meanwhile the celebrant says a number of prayers preparing to offer the sacrifice. Here follows the Creed.³ The preparation for the anaphora consists of prayers said aloud by the deacon, and a number of others said silently by the celebrant. The great Intercession follows; they count the *kudâshâ* as beginning at this point.⁴ The place of the Intercession is an important element in classifying liturgies. In the normal Antiochene family it follows the Consecration; at Alexandria it comes after *Sursum corda*, during what we should call the Preface. Its place in the East Syrian rite, before the *Sursum corda*, as soon as the gifts are brought to the altar, following (or a part of) the offertory-act, is now unique, though there are reasons which make this place seem natural.⁵ The diptychs are read—namely, a list of petitions for the church, *katholikos*, bishops, clergy, kings, and

¹ Called *karuzuthâ* (κηρύσσειν).

² Merely a form now, of course.

³ The Nicene Creed with verbal variants and, of course, without the *Filioque* clause.

⁴ It is chiefly from here to the Communion that the other two liturgies have different prayers.

⁵ Namely, if the people once offered the bread and wine, it would seem natural to pray for them at that moment. The Intercession came at the offertory in the old Gallican rite. Dom Cagin and his school think that originally it did so at Rome too (Fortescue: *The Mass*, pp. 103, 144).

so on (diptychs of the living), then those of the dead.¹ To each clause the people answer : " Amen." The diptychs of the dead contain a very long list of saints. The form is : " Let us pray and beseech God the Lord of all that this oblation be accepted for all the just and righteous fathers who were well-pleasing in his sight (let us pray). Also for the memorial of Adam and Abel. . . ." " And of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. . . ." There is first a list of saints of the Old Testament. Then : " And for the memorial of the Lady Mary, the Holy Virgin who bore Christ our Lord and our Saviour." Then follow St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, the evangelists and apostles ; " Mâr Addai and Mâr Mari, the apostles who were the converters of this Eastern region " ; St. Stephen ; a long list of the old Persian Katholikoi, beginning with Papa, " our holy fathers the 208 bishops who were assembled in the city of Nicæa for the raising up of the true faith " ; and a great number of East Syrian and Persian bishops, monks and martyrs. The people answer : " And our Lord make us all to partake with them in his grace and mercy for ever. Amen." After the Intercession comes the kiss of peace. The deacon warns the people to attend, the gifts are unveiled, and the anaphora begins. The celebrant blesses the people with the form : " The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ . . ." (2 Cor. xiii. 13).² Then : " Lift up your minds." R. : " Unto thee, O God of Abraham and Isaac and Israel, O glorious King." Priest : " The oblation is offered unto God the Lord of all." R. : " It is meet and just." The priest says a short silent prayer, and then as a *Ghântâ* :³ " Worthy of praise from every mouth . . ." He mentions the " holy cherubim and spiritual seraphim," then (*kânunâ*) : " shouting and praising without ceasing, and crying out to another, and saying." The choir sings : " Holy, holy, holy . . ." A short prayer follows, and leads to the " signing of the mysteries " ; then follows the Epiklesis.

We have come to what is the amazing point in the Nestorian

¹ No actual diptychs (with names to be filled in at discretion) appear to be now used.

² This is the regular Antiochene beginning of the anaphora. *VIII Apost. Const.* xii. 4, etc.

³ The *Ghântâ* (" inclination ") is a prayer said in a low voice (*μυστικῶς*). The ending chanted aloud (*ἐκφώνησις*) is called *kânunâ*.

rite. The liturgy of the Apostles does not contain the words of institution. This is naturally a grave scandal to the friends of this Church. The Anglican editors of their liturgy have fitted in here the narrative of the Last Supper containing the words. It interrupts the prayer most awkwardly.¹ It is often said that the Nestorians always recited the words of institution, but did not write them in their books, through excessive reverence. This does not seem likely. Their prayers from the Sanctus to the Epiklesis form a consecutive whole ; there is no sign of anything left out, and no room for an insertion. It should, however, be noted that Narse, in the 5th century, mentions the words of institution.² The liturgies of Nestorius and Theodore have the words of institution. It would seem, then, that, no doubt because of a great insistence on the Epiklesis as the " form " of consecration, they thought it a matter of indifference whether the words of institution were said or not. The Anglicans teach their pupils to say them scrupulously ; but they admit that, " unfortunately, it is not uncommon now for the more ignorant priests altogether to omit this essential part of the Sacrament."³ The Epiklesis of the liturgy of the Apostles is vague : " And may there come, O my Lord, thine Holy Spirit and rest upon this offering of thy servants and bless it and hallow it, that it be to us, O my Lord, for the pardon of offences and the remission of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who have been well-pleasing in thy sight." Certainly, if we look for a categorical " form " of

¹ Anglican edition of the liturgies, p. 16 ; Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 285. They take the form of 1 Cor. xi. 23-25.

² Connolly : *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 17 ; cf. pp. 83-84.

³ Maclean and Browne : *op. cit.* p. 257. The question of validity without the words of institution is a dogmatic one into which I need hardly enter here. Most Catholic and most Orthodox theologians would undoubtedly deny it. On the other hand, if one accepts the idea of consecration by the whole *barakah* (see *The Mass*, p. 405), valid consecration without the words of institution explicitly might perhaps be defended. One point about the Anglican mission may be noted here. They have (quite rightly) " tampered " with the historic rite in this point, which they think essential, as they have also by leaving out heretical names and clauses. They can hardly, then, blame Rome for having done the same in the Uniate rites, in cases which we consider essential.

the Sacrament, we shall have difficulty in finding it in this liturgy.¹ Some prayers and psalms, a washing of hands and incensing lead to a complicated fraction and commixture. The mixture is made by dipping. There is a blessing, the Lord's Prayer with an introduction, and the usual verse: "For thine is the kingdom, etc.," and an embolism, an elevation with the form: "The holy things to the holies is fitting in perfection." Then, while anthems are sung, the clergy and people make their Communion. Normally the two kinds are received separately; the celebrant gives the holy bread, the deacon the chalice. The forms of administration are: "The body of our Lord to N.N.² for the pardon of offences," "The precious blood for the pardon of offences, the spiritual feast for everlasting life to N.N. (as before)." Quite small children receive Communion, by intinction. The thanksgiving consists of one verse by the deacon (a much shortened litany) with the answer: "Glory be to him for his unspeakable gift," a few prayers, another kiss of peace, and now (in practice) the Communion of the celebrant and deacon.³ There is a final blessing (no formula of dismissal), and the antidoron (see p. 150) called *mkafrânâ* is distributed. So the liturgy ends.⁴ It appears that most people do not wait for the end. Immediately after their Communion they go to the door of the baptistery, take the *mkafrânâ*,⁵ and go home. Also they often come late, so that generally the lessons (except the Gospel) are not said at all, and the Gospel is moved from its proper place, read and explained by a homily just before the Communion.⁶ The Nestorians do not now reserve the Holy Eucharist at all, and have no provision for Communion of the sick.

The *Baptism service* is a long rite modelled closely on the holy

¹ The other two rites have an Epiklesis of the usual Antiochene or Byzantine form. They are quoted in Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* p. 258.

² "The discreet priest," or "the deacon of God," or "the circumspect believer."

³ Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 261. This is clearly a dislocation caused by the fact that the order of the liturgy contains no clear direction that they should communicate first. So their communion has coalesced with the consumption of what remains of the *Sanctissimum* at the end.

⁴ The prayers and exact rubrics will be found in Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 247-305. From the end of the Epiklesis the other two rites take (with a few special prayers) the *Ordo communis* of the normal liturgy.

⁵ Often the *mkafrânâ* is not given at all. Maclean and Browne, p. 260.

⁶ *Ib.* 251.

liturgy. It has an "Apostle," Gospel, Creed, Litany, "Sursum Corda," Sanctus, Epiklesis, and so on. It takes place after the liturgy; many children are baptized together, private baptism is not allowed. Soon after birth there is a curious imitation of baptism; water is blessed, and the child is washed in it. This is called "signing." Then it waits till the next feast, when there will be a liturgy in the Church and, following that, a general public baptism. The child's name is given at the "signing." In the Baptism rite the children are anointed all over with olive oil (oil of the catechumens). The Nestorians have a holy oil believed to come from St. John the Evangelist, like the holy leaven. This is kept in the sanctuary, renewed as the leaven is, and a small portion of it is mixed with the oil of the catechumens. At the actual moment of baptism the child is held facing the east over the font; the priest dips it three times, saying: "N. is baptized in the name of the Father (R.: Amen), in the name of the Son (Amen), in the name of the Holy Ghost, for ever (Amen)." It is confirmed at once by laying-on the right hand. No chrism or other oil is now used for Confirmation.¹

The ordination of clerks below the rank of deacon² is now obsolete. Deacons, priests, and bishops are ordained by laying-on the right hand, with a suitable form. Several other bishops assist the Patriarch or Metropolitan in ordaining a bishop; they lay their hands on his side. The Nestorians have the rite of vesting the subject during the ordination service; but they do not appear to have an anointing. We have seen that they have what seem to be ordination forms for making a deacon an archdeacon, a bishop a Patriarch, and so on (pp. 134-135).³ In the marriage

¹ It appears that once oil was used for Confirmation, as everywhere else in Christendom. See G. Bickell: *Das Sakr. der Firmung bei den Nest.* (*Zt. f. Kath. Theol.* 1877, 85-117); *Bib. Or.* iii. (1), 576. Further details of the Baptism service are given by Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 267-279; the whole rite by Badger: *op. cit.* ii. 195-214; also by G. Diettrich: *Die nestorianische Tauf liturgie* (Giessen, 1903), who ascribes its composition to the Katholikos Yeshu'-yab III (652-661), holds it to be the oldest extant form in Christendom, and illustrates it with interesting notes. Denzinger: *Ritus Orientalium* (Würzburg, 1863), i. 364-383.

² Badger gives the forms (with imposition of the bishop's right hand) for readers and subdeacons; ii. 322-325.

³ Badger, ii. 322-350, gives the services. Denzinger: *op. cit.* ii. 226-274.

service they crown the spouses with threads of red, blue, and white, and have several curious customs.¹ They have far-reaching impediments of consanguinity and affinity,² but allow divorce for many reasons.³ Their burial service is very long. It differs for clergy and laity. They sing anthems and psalms (special ones for all manner of special cases—a man murdered, drowned, betrothed, etc.), and have many prayers for the dead. They offer the holy liturgy for the repose of their souls.⁴

And here we take leave of the pathetic little Church. The curious customs, superstitions, popular traditions of the modern Nestorians do not concern the purpose of this book. An account of them may be read in the work of Dean Maclean⁵ and Mr. Browne, to which I am already considerably indebted.⁶ The Nestorians have a wonderful history. It is strange to realize that out there, among Kurds and Yazīdīs, there still exists a remnant of that ancient Church, mother of the great army of martyrs whose glorious blood hallowed the Persian soil, the Church which spread the Christian name deep into the heart of China. That they have kept the Christian faith for thirteen centuries of tragic isolation gives them a right to all our respect and affection. They, too, are our brothers and sheep of Christ, though they are imprisoned in the fold of Nestorius. Our last hope for them is that they may come out of that other fold back to the one flock. Only, to do that they must accept Ephesus and call the mother of their Lord by her right name. There are many tragedies in the long story of the people of Christ; not the least of them is that Bar Šaumâ of Edessa once quarrelled with his bishop Rabbulâ.

Summary

This chapter has described the Nestorian Church as it exists to-day. It was in a sense rediscovered by Western Europe in

¹ Maclean and Browne: *op. cit.* 142–159; Badger gives the rite, ii. 244–281.

² The table in Badger, ii. 277.

³ Maclean and Browne, p. 158.

⁴ For funeral rites see Badger, ii. 282–321; Maclean and Browne, 279–289; *Kurds and Christians*, 227–232.

⁵ Now Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness.

⁶ *The Catholics of the East and his People*, London, S.P.C.K., 1892.

the 19th century, first by explorers who went to Mesopotamia to find Assyrian remains. Since then it has been the object of great interest and of many missionary expeditions. Besides the Catholic missions, which have been there for a long time and belong to a different category, the chief of these are the American Presbyterian mission at Urmi and the Anglican mission at Amadia. The Orthodox Russians, too, have a mission here. There are now about 100,000 Nestorians living in Kurdistan and around Lake Urmi on either side of the Turkish-Persian frontier. Their religious (and to a great extent civil) head is the Patriarch and Katholikos, who always takes the name Mâr Shim'un. Under him are one Metropolitan and ten bishops. The Patriarchal and Episcopal lines are now practically hereditary. They have a hierarchy of the usual Eastern type, but do not now in practice ordain anyone below the rank of deacon. Priests and deacons have no law of celibacy at all. There are a few monks and nuns, no monasteries. Their faith differs from ours in the great point of our Lord's person. They have a kind of iconoclasm, except that they greatly reverence the holy Cross. Naturally they reject the primacy of the Pope; their attitude about the *Filioque* seems undetermined. They use the old Eastern Syrian rite in classical Syriac. Their divine office is now practically reduced to morning and evening prayer. They have three forms of liturgy, the normal one "of the Holy Apostles," and supplementary anaphoras of Theodore and of Nestorius (this, apparently a version of the old Byzantine rite) used on a few days. The most curious points in their rite are that they begin the liturgy actually by making and baking the bread, their curious superstition about the "holy leaven" which they mix therewith, and, strangest of all, that their normal liturgy does not contain the words of institution.

PART II
THE COPTS

WE have already noted that all other Lesser Eastern Churches are Monophysite. An outline of the great Monophysite controversy will therefore introduce the history of the Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites, Malabar Christians and Armenians.

CHAPTER VI

MONOPHYSISM

Now we go back to the 5th century and take up again the story of the great Christological controversy, of which the first part is the Council of Ephesus and the condemnation of Nestorius. The second part is Monophysism. But it is all one story. Monophysism, the extreme opposite of Nestorianism, begins merely as an ardent opposition to that heresy. The first Monophysites were the men who cried loudest for the faith of Ephesus and of Cyril. It is difficult to say exactly when they begin. They exist certainly before the Nestorian quarrel is settled. The Monophysite sects come out (on the other side) of the same turmoil which produced the Nestorians. They are vastly more important. Nestorianism was soon crushed, expelled from the empire, which it never again troubled; it became one sect in Persia. Monophysism made an appalling disturbance throughout the whole Eastern Empire for about two centuries, and then settled down in not one but four great national Churches. All the lesser schismatical Eastern Churches, except the one we have discussed, are Monophysite.

1. The First Monophysites

There is no one man who stands out as the founder of Monophysism, as Nestorius is the founder of his heresy. This accounts for the different kinds of name the two great Christological errors bear. Nestorianism is called after a man, Monophysism is a defini-

tion of the heretical idea.¹ It is true that it has often been called Eutychianism (a Monophysite being a "Eutychian") after Eutyches (p. 167). But he was only one of many Monophysites, not by any means the inventor of the theory or leader of the party.² He acquired some fame by bringing the heresy to or by agitating for it at Constantinople, but he was not really its founder.

Monophysism, then, is simply the extreme opposite of Nestorianism. As soon as Nestorius began to divide Christ into two persons, there were among his opponents those who insisted on the unity of our Lord to such a degree that they confused his humanity with his divinity as one thing. They declared him so much one person that he had but one nature. In him the humanity was absorbed in the divinity, as a drop of wine would be in an ocean of water. There is nothing to distinguish in Christ; in all things, personality, hypostasis, even nature (*φύσις*), he is one. But then the more moderate people began to see a danger on that side too. If in Christ the humanity were absorbed in the divinity, then he would have no real human nature, would not really be man. These vehement opponents of Nestorius were falling into the old Apollinarist heresy and so justifying the constant accusation of Nestorians; ³ they were becoming Docetes—the still older heresy which made our Lord's humanity, his birth, life, and death, a mere appearance and a useless mystification. As soon as that was realized, as soon as the extreme deniers of Nestorianism began really to maintain this idea, Monophysism had begun.⁴ It was to have a long and stormy career.

¹ *Μονοφυσισμός, μονοφυσίτης*, from *μονή φύσις*, "one nature."

² If it were necessary to name one man as leader it would be rather Dioscor of Alexandria (p. 165).

³ Throughout this controversy the Nestorians accused all their opponents of being Apollinarists (see p. 59).

⁴ Both the opposed heresies admitted the same false premise, that person (*ὑπόστασις*) and nature (*φύσις*) are the same thing. Nestorians said that our Lord has two natures, therefore he is two persons; Monophysites answered that he is certainly one person, therefore he has one nature. Both antecedents are right; the consequents, assuming the false supposition, are wrong. The good of these heresies is that the Church by them was obliged to realize more clearly the simple truth she had always held (that one Jesus Christ is both God and man), and so to conceive the essential difference between nature and person.

The first home of Monophysism was Egypt; and the Monophysites always maintained that they were merely upholding the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius. If they admitted a "founder" at all, they claimed Cyril as the founder of their school.¹ The phrase quoted by Cyril, "one nature incarnate of the Word of God," became their watchword.² Then, when Cyril made peace with John of Antioch (p. 74), some of his partisans accused him of compromising with Nestorianism. These are the first Monophysites. Cyril died in 444, just before the Monophysite quarrel broke out. He was succeeded by his archdeacon Dioscor,³ who had accompanied him to Ephesus. As Patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscor becomes the real head of the Monophysite party. During Cyril's lifetime he had enjoyed a good reputation; but from the moment he became Patriarch and leader of the Monophysites he is represented as a typical ecclesiastical villain. Although he owed everything to Cyril, he began his reign by despoiling and persecuting Cyril's heirs. He exacted so much money from the people that his pastoral visitations became a terror throughout Egypt; people fled before him and hid their property, as they would before a hostile army. He maltreated all the clergy ordained by his predecessor. He led a notoriously immoral life, and was accompanied everywhere by a mistress named Pan-sophia.⁴ It is true that these are accusations made by his enemies, so that they should be received with a certain amount of caution. On the other hand, there seems to be unanimous contemporary authority describing him as a deplorable person from every point of view. And there is no doubt at all that he was a heresiarch and quite unscrupulous in fighting for his heresy.

Meanwhile, there was still an "Eastern" party in Syria, disciples of the Antiochene school, inheritors of the ideas of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia (pp. 59-60), the friends of John of Antioch. These are not Nestorians—at

¹ Really, of course, they said that they were defending the teaching of the gospels (as defended by Cyril)—which is the attitude of all heretics.

² They quoted "the Word was made flesh" too constantly, understanding this as meaning identity of nature.

³ Διδσκόρος, Dioscorus.

⁴ See the accusations against Dioscor made by his clergy at the third session of Chalcedon. Hefele-Leclercq: *Histoire des Conciles*, ii. (2), 691-699

least, most of them are not. They accepted the terms of reconciliation between John and Cyril, they tempered the ideas of Diodore and Theodore, recognized the Council of Ephesus, and no longer defended Nestorius. But they were the natural opponents of the first Monophysites. John of Antioch died in 441 or 442. He was succeeded by his nephew Domnus¹ II (441-448), who shared all his ideas. In the vast Antiochene Patriarchate Ibas was now Bishop of Edessa (435-457),² and Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus (423-458).³ Theodoret was the chief theologian on that side. He had been a friend and partisan of Nestorius, an active opponent of Cyril. But about the year 435 he joined the union between his Patriarch (John) and Cyril; since then he remained a Catholic. He was naturally a great enemy of Dioscor and the Monophysites. They deposed him in their Robber-Synod (449; see p. 77). At Chalcedon (451) he made a perfectly correct profession of faith, condemning Nestorius as well as the opposite heresy, was restored to his see, and died in peace in 457. Theodoret succeeded the older masters as the leader of the Antiochene school of theology; he is also famous as a great defender of the Roman primacy.⁴ His Patriarch, Domnus, had great confidence in him. Proclus succeeded Maximian (p. 65) as Bishop⁵ of Constantinople (434-447). He was on good terms with the Eastern bishops, and leaned towards their views. But already he began to usurp Patriarchal jurisdiction in Illyricum and Asia Minor,⁶ so that Dioscor, naturally wishing to disturb the good relations between the capital and his enemies in the East, writes to the Easterns that by allowing this they betray the rights of Antioch and Alexandria.⁷

¹ Δόμνος.

² See pp. 76-77. Ibas must be counted as very nearly a Nestorian.

³ Kyrros (Κυρρῶς), a little town in Syria, near the Euphrates, two days from Antioch.

⁴ See his appeal to Pope Leo I, when he was deposed by the Robber-Synod (quoted in *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 56). The Monophysites always hated him. His writings were condemned as the second of the Three Chapters, to please them (see p. 202).

⁵ It is a question how far one can speak of a Patriarch of Constantinople before Chalcedon.

⁶ This is part of the gradual advance of Constantinople towards the second place in Christendom (*Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 28-47).

⁷ Theodoret: Ep. 86 (P.G. lxxxiii. 1280).

The trouble began with the affair of Eutyches,¹ archimandrite of a great monastery just outside the walls of Constantinople. Eutyches was known as an ardent opponent of Nestorianism. He had distinguished himself on the side of St. Cyril at Ephesus.² He was also a person of considerable importance; in his monastery he ruled over three hundred monks. He was a kind of leader of Byzantine monasticism in his time, known and respected by all the empire. He was also godfather, spiritual director and intimate friend of the Grand Chamberlain and Chief Eunuch Chrysaphios, leading minister of the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450). Eutyches conceived the idea of perfecting the work of the Council of Ephesus. Nestorianism, he thought, was not yet dead. It lived still in that suspicious Eastern school. In this enterprise he could count on the support of Egypt and the Egyptian Patriarch, besides that of his friends at court. So he began preaching what purported to be a crushing attack on Nestorianism.

He went far beyond St. Cyril. The basis of the Catholic position was Cyril's agreement with John of Antioch in 433 (p. 73). Cyril had then accepted John's profession of faith which defended "the union of two natures"³ in our Lord; he himself had written in his famous letter of union (*Latentur cæli*): "Therefore Jesus Christ is one, although the difference of natures, indelibly united, may not be ignored."⁴ Eutyches apparently thought this a concession to John and the "Easterns" which should now be revoked. His theory was a complete fusion and identification of the natures in Christ. A result of this idea was that he said plainly that our Lord was not "consubstantial" with other men, had not the same nature as we have. So here his heresy is patent. This flatly contradicts Scripture:⁵ our Lord would not really be man. But Eutyches went beyond what

¹ Εὐτυχής.

² Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), p. 513 (Dom Leclercq's note); Hefele himself doubts whether Eutyches was actually at Ephesus (*ib.* p. 514).

³ δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἕνωσις γέγνε. See the letter in Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), p. 396.

⁴ Such expressions as this and the whole text of the letter show that St. Cyril was not a Monophysite. See above, p. 73.

⁵ *E.g.* Heb. iv. 15; Rom. v. 15; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

became later the Monophysite creed. This is of great importance. Most modern Monophysites (*e.g.* the Armenians) will deny that they hold Eutyches' doctrine. They are generally as ready to condemn him as we are. People think that this proves them to be innocent of the heresy with which they are charged. It does not do so at all. A man may be as pure a Monophysite as was Dioscor, and may yet disagree with Eutyches on several points. For he evolved the extraordinary idea that our Lord has two natures *before* the hypostatic union, but that then (presumably at his incarnation) these two natures were fused into one.¹ There are other altogether wild ideas in Eutyches's system. Christ's body was not formed of his mother. It was created by the Logos long before his birth; the Logos assumed this body, fusing it with the Divinity, in the womb of the blessed Virgin. She was thus only the channel through which her so-called son passed.² Thus Eutyches arrived at a curious conclusion. Starting as the great champion of Ephesine doctrine, of which the dogma that Mary is Mother of God is the very essence, he came to a conclusion which (were he logical) denied that dogma. A channel through which a totally disconnected being passes, a person who is merely the *place* in which a pre-existent body is combined with the eternal nature of that being, is in no possible sense his mother.³

Now, much of this goes far beyond mere Monophysism. A Monophysite is a man who believes in the identity of the human nature and the Divine nature in Christ.⁴ It is quite possible to hold this heresy without accepting Eutyches' further wild theories about a pre-existing body of Christ, and so on. Hence, almost from the beginning of the dispute many Monophysites were quite

¹ St. Leo I points out that the exact contrary is true. "Eutyches says: I confess that our Lord was in two natures before their union; but after the union I confess one nature . . . he says that the only-begotten Son of God had two natures before the incarnation, as impiously as he wickedly asserts one nature in him after the Word had become flesh." Ep. xxviii. cap. 6 (P.L. liv. 777).

² This revives a very common idea of the old Docetes; see *Docetism* in Dr. J. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), iv. 832-835.

³ A statement of Eutyches' strange system will be found in Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), p. 515.

⁴ Practically, as we shall see, a Monophysite is a man who rejects the dogmatic decree of the Council of Chalcedon.

ready to throw Eutyches overboard. We must remember that a man or a national Church is by no means proved innocent of Monophysism because of a declaration against Eutyches.¹

As soon as the Archimandrite of the great Byzantine laura began to propagate these novel ideas he found indignant opponents, naturally first among the "Eastern" theologians. They had given up Nestorianism, they accepted the union of 433 between Antioch and Alexandria; but they were not prepared to admit the extremest form of anti-Nestorianism. It was one thing to acknowledge our Lord as one person, in the strictest sense; it was quite another to conceive his human nature so lost that he would not be a man at all. The Easterns were quite right. Monophysism is a much worse heresy than Nestorianism. Of the two errors it is less harmful to conceive our Lord as a moral union between two hypostases than to deny that he was really man at all. Theodoret of Cyrus in 447 published a dialogue which he called *The Beggar, or the many-shaped one*.² In this, without naming Eutyches, he attacks the new heresy. The title means that these Monophysites are people who beg their ideas from many old heretics, from Gnostics, Docetes, Apollinarists. The book is in the form of three dialogues between the "Beggar" and an orthodox Christian, who, of course, confutes all the beggar's arguments and exposes the viciousness of his theory. The parties were now formed. It is no longer a question of the orthodox who defend Christ's oneness against Nestorians, but of orthodox who defend his real human nature against Monophysites. The Egyptians, who see in Eutyches a defender of the teaching of Cyril and Ephesus, are for him; the Eastern (Syrian) school is for Theodoret.

Meanwhile Proclus of Constantinople was dead (447), and was succeeded by Flavian (447-449). This Flavian is the hero of the Catholic side in the Eastern Empire. He was not a man of any great parts; but he knew enough theology to under-

¹ For this reason it is convenient and not uncommon to distinguish between two heresies, Eutychianism (meaning the acceptance of all Eutyches' ideas), and Monophysism (meaning the assertion of one nature in Christ and the rejection of the Faith of Chalcedon). Hefele makes this distinction (*ed. cit.* ii. (2), 857-858).

² Ἑρανιστῆς ἡτοι πολύμορφος (P.G. lxxxiii. 27-336).

stand that a system which denied our Lord's humanity is intolerable. He was throughout a firm champion of the faith against the new heresy, and he died a martyr for that faith. Meanwhile old Nestorius from his place of exile watched this struggle, saw (not unnaturally) in Flavian the man who would rehabilitate his own ideas, and conceived the struggle between Flavian and Dioscor as merely a repetition of the fight between himself and Cyril.

The man who comes out best in the whole Monophysite controversy is the Pope of Rome. It has often happened in the story of a great heresy that the earthly head of the Church was not the leading champion of her faith. Popes have not always been the greatest theologians of their time. Some other bishop (Athanasius, Cyril, Augustine) has led the attack against the new heresy and the Pope has approved, giving to their side the enormous weight of his authority. But this time it was not so. When Monophysism began the chair of St. Peter was occupied by one of the very greatest of his successors, Leo I, called the Great (440-461). St. Leo was a skilled theologian. We count him one of the chief Latin Fathers of the Church. He was perfectly competent to understand the danger of Eutyches's heresy; throughout the first period of Monophysism (till he died in 461) he is to the Catholic side what Athanasius had been in Arian times.

Domnus of Antioch took up the cause of Theodoret.¹ Meanwhile some of Eutyches' monks went to Alexandria to ensure the support of Dioscor. As long as Theodosius II lived, the court was for the Monophysites. Very likely the Emperor thought that Domnus and Theodoret were trying to revive Nestorianism; and Eutyches had the ear of the Chief Chamberlain Chrysaphios. So Theodosius wrote an angry letter back to Domnus telling him that all Nestorians must be deposed and excommunicated. Eutyches wrote to Pope Leo, warning him against this "Eastern" backsliding into Nestorianism. The Pope answered cautiously, refusing to take any steps till he had heard more of the matter.² Then Eusebius of Dorylæum³ brought the matter up at a meeting

¹ Hefele-Leclercq : *Hist. des Conc.* ii. (1), 509.

² Ep. xx. (P.L. liv. 713).

³ Eusebius was in no way suspect of Nestorianism. He had been one of the first opponents of Nestorius and a great defender of the Theotókos. Dorylæum (Δορυλαῖον) is in Phrygia.

of the Synod of Constantinople ¹ in November 448.² Flavian was at first not very willing to act in the matter; but Eusebius insisted. So Eutyches was summoned, refused to leave his monastery, and got up a (heretical) declaration of his faith, which was signed by a great number of his monks. After a great deal of discussion he at last came and was heard. He was found guilty of Apollinarism and Valentinianism,³ deposed and excommunicated. The chief offence on his part was that he taught that Christ is not "of the same nature as we are,"⁴ which shows that his judges well understood the real issue from the first. So this synod at Constantinople in 448 adds the parallel clause to what Nicæa had declared in 325. Then, against the Arians, the Church had declared our Lord to be consubstantial to the Father; in this controversy she declared, against the Monophysites, that he is consubstantial to us men. In other words, our Saviour is truly God and truly man, which is the faith of the gospels. The synod in condemning Eutyches carefully explained that the faith of St. Cyril and of Ephesus was not to be questioned.⁵

2. The Robber-Synod of Ephesus (449)

Eutyches was not prepared to submit to his condemnation. Instead he wrote letters justifying his ideas to the Pope;⁶ to St. Peter Chrysologus († c. 450), Archbishop of Ravenna, a great theologian among the Latins;⁷ apparently also to Dioscor of Alexandria and his Egyptian friends. These at once took up his cause hotly. So did his friends at Court. The Emperor Theodosius II was entirely under the influence of Eutyches' patron Chrysaphios; as long as he lived Eutyches triumphed. The

¹ This is not a special synod called together to judge this case, but the permanent council of advisers of the Patriarch, called *Σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*, a regular institution of the Byzantine Patriarchate (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 31).

² Mansi, vi. 652.

³ Because Valentinians were Docetes.

⁴ οὐκ εἶπον . . . ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν (Mansi, vi. 741).

⁵ For this Synod of 448 see Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), pp. 518-538. Its acts are in Mansi, vi. 649-824.

⁶ Ep. Eutychis ad Leonem; No. xxi. among St. Leo's letters (P.L. liv. 714-717); also in Mansi, v. 1014-1015.

⁷ In Mansi, v. 1347.

Emperor summoned a synod to revise the judgement of Flavian. It was to meet at Ephesus, like the council of 431. The Pope was, of course, invited. He could not come (Attila was just then at the gates of Rome); but he sent legates—Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, a priest Renatus, a deacon Hilarius,¹ and a notary Dulcitus. They brought letters to the Emperor, to Flavian of Constantinople, to the monks of the city, and to the synod. St. Leo's letter to Flavian is the most important document of this story. It is his famous *Tome* or *Dogmatic Letter*.² In his other letters he refers to this one as containing a plain statement of the Catholic faith. The Dogmatic Letter of Leo I to Flavian categorically rejects Eutyches' novelties.³ It states the Catholic faith exactly as all Catholics (and the Orthodox too) have learned it in their catechism; the technical terms and language generally are those we still use. Our Lord is one person having two natures, of God and of man. Each nature is real, complete, perfect. "The property of either nature and substance⁴ remaining and being joined in one person, lowliness is assumed by majesty, weakness by might, mortality by the eternal. To pay the debt of our condition an inviolable nature is joined to a nature which can suffer; so that, as befits our salvation, one and the same mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, could die in one nature, could not die in the other. Therefore God was born in the perfect nature of a true man, perfect in his own (nature), perfect in ours. We say in ours, which the Creator made in the beginning, which he assumed to redeem it. . . . Wherefore he, who remaining in the form of God created man, he the same in the form of a servant was made man. Either nature holds without defect its properties; as the form of God does not destroy the form of a servant, so the form of a servant does not lessen the form of God."⁵

¹ Afterwards Pope Hilarius (461-468).

² No. xxviii. among St. Leo's letters (P.L. liv. 755-781; Mansi, v. 1366); see Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), 567-580.

³ The constant references to Eutyches in this letter are, together with the fact that his condemnation began the great controversy, the reason why he has acquired undeserved importance as the founder of Monophysism. Really his case was only an incident in the great quarrel.

⁴ Nature, substance, essence mean the same thing.

⁵ P.L. liv. 763.

The Dogmatic Letter of St. Leo became the symbol of all Catholics throughout this quarrel. It is this which was solemnly accepted by the fathers of Chalcedon when they cried out, "Peter has spoken by Leo" (p. 178). The Pope further says that when Eutyches has withdrawn his error, the old man is to be treated mercifully.

But the last thing Eutyches thought of was to withdraw his error. All the weight of Egypt under its "ecclesiastical Pharaoh" was coming to back up the obstinate monk.

On August 8, 449, Dioscor opened the synod in the great Church of the Theotókos at Ephesus, the same church in which the former council had been held. He had arrived with twenty bishops and a great crowd of parabolani, sturdy fellows armed with clubs, who understood nothing about nature and person, but were going to brain anyone who annoyed their Pharaoh.¹ The Emperor sent Count Elpidius and many soldiers to protect Eutyches. This is, then, the infamous "Robber-Synod"² of Ephesus. No synod in all Church history has left such a name for flagrant brutality. Three hundred and sixty bishops attended, many of them creatures of Dioscor. The others afterwards (at Chalcedon) said that they had only agreed with him in a panic at his brutal violence. Dioscor presided³ and made the synod do all he wished. There was no pretence at a free discussion. The Emperor had commanded the bishops to crush Flavian and restore Eutyches; Dioscor made them do so. The synod lasted two days.⁴ On the first day (August 8, 449) Dioscor called for the soldiers; they and the crowd of his parabolani rushed into the church; there followed the scene of wild disorder which gained for this meeting its name of a gang of brigands. Eutyches was declared innocent; his

¹ The Parabolani (*παρὰβολάνοι*, "exposers of their own life") were a corporation at Alexandria, originally founded to nurse the sick. They became a kind of rowdy bodyguard of the Patriarch and a public danger to peaceful citizens. It was the Parabolani who murdered Hypatia in 415.

² Latrocinium Ephesinum, *σύνοδος ληστρική*. It is St. Leo's name for it (Ep. xciv. 2; P.L. liv. 943), which has become its regular title.

³ This was, of course, already an offence against right order. The Papal legates should have presided; see Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, iii. 415, n. 1, for an explanation of this anomaly.

⁴ This is the usual theory (Hefele: *op. cit.* ii. (1) 585; Duchesne: *op. cit.* 419). But see Leclercq's note (Hefele, *loc. cit.*).

absurd formula—that our Lord had two natures before the hypostatic union, one after it—was approved. There were shouts and cries, “Eusebius (of Dorylæum) to the fire! Burn him alive! Cut him in half!” The opponents of Eutyches were to be thrown in the sea. The wretched bishops were driven about, threatened, struck; Flavian clung to the altar. The soldiers tore him from it, and so maltreated him that he died a few days afterwards. The Roman legates cried out their protest, “Contradicitur,” then left the tumult in disgust. Dioscor spared no violence to the trembling bishops. Terrified for their lives, they signed the acts condemning and deposing Flavian, restoring Eutyches. On August 22 a second session was held, in which Domnus of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrus, and a number of Eastern bishops were deposed. Flavian and the legates were not present at this second session. One of the legates, Hilary, later (as Pope) built a chapel in the Lateran basilica as a votive-offering that he had escaped with his life from the riot at Ephesus.¹ Then Dioscor sent a copy of the acts to the Emperor; Theodosius approved them and thought he had settled the matter. Anatolius (449–458) was made Bishop of Constantinople in place of Flavian, and Maximus was set up at Antioch instead of Domnus.²

But Dioscor had counted without the Pope. From all sides appeals and protests came to Rome. Flavian had time to appeal before he died. Theodoret sent a letter of appeal,³ and the legates who had escaped from Dioscor’s violence came back and told Leo what had happened. St. Leo then held a local synod⁴ and protested against the Robber-Synod. Dioscor, in answer, had the impudence to pretend to excommunicate the Pope. Referring to this, the Council of Chalcedon writes to Leo: “the enemy like a beast roaring to himself outside the fold . . . had stretched his madness even towards you, to whom the care of the

¹ The inscription over the door of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist may still be read: “Liberatori suo beato Iohanni euangelistæ Hilarius episcopus famulus Christi.”

² The acts of the Robber-Synod are in Mansi, vi. 827–870; for the whole story see Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, ii. (1), pp. 584–606.

³ This is the famous letter which contains such strong things about the Primacy (P.G. liv. 848–854); see *Orth. Eastern Church*, 56.

⁴ October 13 or 15, 449; Mansi, vi. 509; Hefele-Leclercq ii. (1), 625.

vineyard was given by the Saviour ; that is, as we say, against your Holiness ; and has conceived an excommunication against you, who hasten to unite the body of the Church." ¹

3. The Council of Chalcedon (451)

The court was on Dioscor's side ; Anatolius, the new Bishop of Constantinople, was a mere creature of Dioscor.² There would have been great trouble, no doubt a schism, between the East and Rome ; but that just then, fortunately for everyone but himself, the Emperor Theodosius II died (July 28, 450). His sister Pulcheria succeeded him. She married a soldier Marcian, who thereby became Emperor.³ Marcian and Pulcheria were conspicuously pious and orthodox. Marcian at once wrote a most respectful letter to the Pope, calling him guardian of the faith, and declares himself anxious to assist a great synod authorized by Leo.⁴ He hopes that Leo himself will be able to come to it ; if not, Marcian will summon it to some convenient place. It shall define the faith according to Leo's dogmatic letter to Flavian.⁵ Pulcheria writes in the same way. She too says the synod is to be summoned by the Pope's authority.⁶ Leo had asked Theodosius II to summon a council ; ⁷ clearly they mean only to carry out his wish. Already in November 450 Anatolius of Constantinople had held a local synod in the presence of the legates whom Leo had sent to Marcian at his accession (Abundius of Como and others). In this he had formally accepted Leo's dogmatic letter and had sent it to be signed by all Eastern Metropolitans,⁸ with a condemnation of both Nestorius and Eutyches. He also sent notice of this to Leo, with a protest of his orthodoxy and a demand to be recognized as Flavian's lawful successor. In spite of the stain on his accession (he was ordained by Dioscor after the murder of Flavian), Leo, seeing him to be not a Monophysite, recognized him " rather in

¹ P.L. liv. 954 ; *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 37.

² He had been Dioscor's legate (*apocrisarius*) at the capital.

³ See the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, s.v. " Marcian " (ix. 644-645).

⁴ σοῦ αὐθέντος. Ep. 73 among those of St. Leo (P.L. liv. 900).

⁵ Ep. 76 (P.L. liv. 904).

⁶ Ep. 77 (P.L. liv. 906-908).

⁷ Ep. 44, 3 (P.L. liv. 826).

⁸ Anatolius is already behaving as a Patriarch.

mercy than in justice.”¹ For a time the Pope hoped to restore peace without so serious a step as another great council. Moreover, the times were bad. Attila was raging in the West, Geiserich and his Vandals were an imminent danger.² Meanwhile, however, Marcian, thinking that he was carrying out the Pope’s wish,³ summoned all the bishops of the empire to a synod to be opened at Nicæa on May 17, 451. Leo then, seeing what had happened, agreed. He could not come to the council himself; but he sent as his legates Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily, and a priest named Boniface. The bishops came to Nicæa, but the Emperor wrote and told them to wait till he could join them himself: he was busy defending the empire against the Huns. They complained of the delay; then he told them to go to Chalcedon, a suburb of Constantinople across the Bosphorus;⁴ there he could attend to the council without leaving the capital.⁵ On October 8, 451, the bishops opened the council in the Church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. This synod, the fourth general Council of Church history, which has made the name of that obscure suburb so famous, completed the work begun at Ephesus in 431, and finally settled the question of our Lord’s nature and person. It is famous for two other things as well. First Chalcedon, the largest synod of antiquity, is also the most pronounced in its recognition of the Pope’s primacy. Nothing could exceed the plainness with which these fathers recognize the Pope as supreme bishop and visible head of the whole Church, or of their acknowledgement that his confirmation is necessary to give authority to all they do.⁶ Secondly, it was this Council which, in its famous 28th Canon, made Constantinople into a Patriarchate, giving it the second

¹ Ep. Leonis 104 ad Marcianum: “Nos vestræ fidei et interventionis habentes intuitum, cum secundum suæ consecrationis auctores eius initia titubarent, benigniores circa eum quam iustiores esse volumus. . . . Vestræ pietatis auxilio et mei favoris assensu episcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit” (P.L. liv. 995).

² See Leo’s letters to Marcian, No. 78; to Pulcheria, 79; to Anatolius, 80 (P.L. liv. 907–909, 909–912, 912–915). Geiserich sacked Rome in 455.

³ It is clear that this was a misunderstanding. Marcian had not yet received Leo’s later letter disparaging the idea of a council. Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (1), 639.

⁴ Now Kaḍiköi.

⁵ His letter is in Mansi, v. 557.

⁶ The texts which show this will be found in the *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 36–37, 40–41.

place after Rome.¹ The Council held altogether twenty-one sessions² lasting till November 1. Of these only the first eight³ have œcumenical authority (October 8–25). Altogether about 630 bishops attended; we have noted that Chalcedon is considerably the largest synod of antiquity. All were Easterns, except the legates and two Africans.

The Papal legates presided, as representing the chief Patriarch. There is no doubt at all about this. They sit in the first place, open the Council, and sign the acts first. The Council writes to the Pope: "You, as being the head, presided in the person of those who represented you."⁴ Leo himself says of his legates: "They presided over the Eastern Synod in my place."⁵ The Emperor sent a number of commissioners to keep order and to arrange practical details.⁶ They had, of course, no vote. The Council says of them: "The Emperor ruled for the sake of order."⁷ The Papal legates were Paschasinus Bishop of Lilybæum, Lucentius Bishop of Ascoli, and the Roman priest Boniface. Julian, Bishop of Cos in the Cyclades, had an additional commission from the Pope; he acts with the others as supplementary legate. But he had not been named with the others in Leo's original letters; he was an Eastern bishop, under the jurisdiction of John of Rhodes, so he sat, not with the legates, but among the bishops.⁸ After the legates sat Anatolius of Constantinople. This place, higher than that to which he had a right, has something to do with his obtaining it permanently by the 28th Canon. He should have sat below the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. But Dioscor of Alexandria had already been condemned by the Pope. He appeared at the Council only as a culprit to be judged. Maximus of Antioch was a mere creature of Anatolius who was not likely to insist on his rights.⁹

Paschasinus as Papal legate opened the Council in Latin. He

¹ *Ib.* 37–42.

² See the corrected table in Hefele-Leclercq, ii. (2), pp. 655–656.

³ Generally numbered as six, the fourth having three parts.

⁴ Mansi, vi. 148.

⁵ Ep. 103 (P.L. liv. 988).

⁶ Their names in Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (2), 665.

⁷ βασιλεὺς δὲ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἐξῆρχον, Mansi, vi. 147.

⁸ For the reasons of his rather anomalous position see Hefele-Leclercq: ii. (2), 667, n. 1.

⁹ *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 35–36.

said : " The instructions of the most blessed and apostolic Bishop of Rome forbid us to sit here in company with Dioscor, Archbishop of Alexandria," and he ordered him to leave his place among the judges and to sit in the middle to be judged.¹ The Secretary of the Council translated this command into Greek, and it was obeyed. Theodoret of Cyrus, on the other hand, was admitted among the bishops, because the Pope had restored him, in spite of the tumult of the Egyptians. They shrieked at Theodoret : " Turn out the teacher of Nestorius ! " " Turn out the enemy of God ! " The " Eastern " bishops shouted back at Dioscor : " Turn out the murderer of Flavian ! " The Imperial commissioners called for order, and explained that this kind of thing did no good, and was not dignified conduct for bishops. Dioscor, Juvenal of Jerusalem and four other Monophysites were judged, condemned and deposed. They did not appear in the second session. The second session (October 10) heard and received the " Nicene " Creed,² two letters of St. Cyril, and the famous dogmatic letter of Leo to Flavian. It was then that the Fathers cried out the famous words : " This is the faith of the Fathers ; this is the faith of the Apostles. So do we all believe ; the orthodox believe this. Peter has spoken by Leo ! " ³ Some bishops now asked for mercy on those who had taken part in the Robber-Synod. These confessed that they had only taken Dioscor's side in abject fear of his violence. In the third session (October 13) Eusebius of Dorylæum and others brought forth many accusations against Dioscor. He was invited to hear them, but would not come. In the fourth session (October 17) his accomplices at the Robber-Synod retracted all they had done, signed the Pope's dogmatic letter, and were pardoned and restored. Dioscor himself alone refused to submit. His deposition was confirmed, and it was ordered that a successor be chosen to fill his see. The fifth session (October 22) drew up the profession of faith of Chalcedon, which has ever since been the standard of the Catholic faith against both Nestorianism and Monophysism. It affirms again the faith of Ephesus in 431, and includes the Theotókos : " We confess one and the same Christ Jesus, the only-begotten, in whom

¹ Mansi, vi. 580-581.

² Of course with the later additions.

³ Mansi, vi. 972.

we acknowledge two natures without mixture, without change, without separation, without division ;¹ for the difference of the two natures is not suppressed by their union. On the contrary, the attributes of either nature are kept intact and subsist in one person and one hypostasis. We confess not a (Lord) divided and separated in several persons, but one only Son, only-begotten, the Word of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ.”²

This, then, is the famous symbol³ of Chalcedon, which henceforth is the test of Catholicism as opposed to Monophysism. From now the situation theologically becomes simple. A Catholic is (as far as the Christological question is concerned) one who accepts the dogmatic decree of the fifth session of Chalcedon ; a Monophysite is not a man who accepts all Eutyches’ ideas, but one who rejects this. We shall still hear very much about Monophysite troubles. The disturbance lasted for centuries in the empire, and finally produced the four heretical Churches of which the stories remain to be told. But from now there is no more controversy among Catholics. The Monophysites soon settle down as rival sects. This symbol ends the discussion which began twenty-two years before, when Anastasius preached against the title *Theotókos* (p. 61). Now let the reader look again at this symbol and ask himself : Was it worth all this disturbance, these synods and anti-synods, depositions of bishops and anathemas, the noisy meetings and shrieking crowds which fill up so much of the 5th century, in order to arrive at a conclusion so obvious that one would think that any reasonable man who knew his New Testament would admit it at once ?

The Council had done its work ; it would have been better if the bishops had gone home at once. However, they stayed at Chalcedon some time longer, and made further laws which were to have far-reaching and by no means happy results. Marcian and

¹ ἀσυγκύτως, ἀτρέπτως (against Monophysism), ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίστως (against Nestorianism).

² The text of the whole decree is in Mansi, vii. 116; also in Hefele-Leclercq, ii. (2), 722–726 ; cf. Denzinger : *Enchiridion*, No. 148. For the question of the variant readings, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν or ἐκ δύο φύσεων, in this declaration, see Hefele-Leclercq, ii. (2), p. 723, n. 1.

³ Symbol in rather a different sense from the creed of Nicæa. That was as condensed a statement as possible ; this Chalcedonian declaration is long and detailed.

Pulcheria had not so far honoured the synod with their Imperial presence. They now came to applaud and confirm all that had passed. The sixth session (October 25) saw them arrive in great pomp with a huge retinue and all the senators. Marcian made a speech in Latin¹ beginning, "Since my reign began I have always had the purity of the faith at heart," and expatiating on his own virtue and piety,² as Emperors do. And the bishops acclaimed him as bishops do: "Long life to the Emperor! Long life to the Empress! Glory to Marcian the new Constantine!" The decrees of the Council were again read out with acclamations. Marcian declared them the law of the empire, and threatened dire penalties against all who should reject them. Again one asks why the Fathers did not now go home.

But further sessions³ dragged on till November 1. In these they made disciplinary canons. Theodoret of Cyrus anathematized Nestorius, and was now considered quite orthodox.⁴ Juvenal of Jerusalem at last succeeded in getting his see raised to a Patriarchate,⁵ and Anatolius persuaded the Council to raise Constantinople to the second place in Christendom. The 30 Canons (of which the 28th gives this rank to Constantinople) were passed in the absence of the legates (session 15, October 31). The legates protested in the last session against the new position given to Constantinople, to the detriment of Alexandria and Antioch.⁶ Rome and the West never accepted this canon. It remained as the germ from which the great schism would arise, four centuries later.⁷ Then at last

¹ This detail may be noticed. Marcian and practically the whole synod spoke Greek naturally. Marcian probably knew very little Latin. But Latin was still the official language of the Roman Empire, and on so solemn an occasion as this the Emperor's dignity required that he should use it. The speech which he had laboriously learned in a foreign language then had to be translated into Greek, so that the bishops could understand it.

² Mansi, vii. 129-130.

³ Leclercq counts ten more, sixteen altogether.

⁴ Till the question of the Three Chapters began, in which he was again made a scapegoat, to please the Monophysites (p. 202).

⁵ *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 27.

⁶ This is the reason of their protest and of that of St. Leo later. No one thought of attacking the Pope's first place. Constantinople was to be second after Rome.

⁷ The whole question is discussed in the *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 37-42.

the Council was closed.¹ An exceptionally respectful letter was sent to the Pope, asking for his confirmation.² He confirmed the dogmatic decree, but explicitly rejected the 28th Canon.³ On February 7, 452, Marcian, together with his Western colleague Valentinian III,⁴ published a decree deposing and banishing all who resisted the Council. Eutyches died in exile just at this time; Dioscor died, also exiled, at Ganges in Paphlagonia, 454.⁵

4. Later Monophysite Troubles

It would seem now as if Monophysism were dead. A general Council had rejected it; the Pope had confirmed its rejection. East and West alike condemned it. Unhappily, there was to be as tragic a sequel to this heresy as there had been to Arianism after Nicæa. It was still to cause enormous trouble in the Eastern Empire before it finally settled down in the heretical sects of Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites and Armenians. Before we come to the special history of these sects it will be well to trace the general disturbance this heresy caused in the empire. This will lead us beyond the foundation of the separated Churches; but it is more or less one story, which we may as well clear up before we leave the great Church of the empire and discuss their local history.

After Chalcedon there was still a great number of people, chiefly in Egypt and Syria, who refused to accept its decrees, who sympathized with Dioscor and saw in his deposition an attack on St. Cyril and on the Council of Ephesus in 431, who thought Chalcedon had given way to Nestorianism. These are the Monophysites, whom various Emperors will vainly try to conciliate. Out of these attempts to conciliate the Monophysites arise a crowd of minor heresies, compromises and evasive formulas which satisfy no one, which lead to fresh schisms and further confusions.

¹ For all the story of the Council of Chalcedon see Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* ii. (2), 649-834.

² P.G. liv. 958.

³ Ep. 105 (P.L. liv. 997-1002), 114 (*ib.* 1027-1032).

⁴ Emperor in the West, 423-455.

⁵ For the Papal acceptance and sequel of Chalcedon see Hefele-Leclercq, ii. (2), 835-857. Note that the East, too, abandoned Canon 28 till it was revived by Photius (*ib.* 855-857). It has never been included in any collection of canon law made by Catholics. As Orthodox canon law it dates, not from Chalcedon, but from their schism.

There are subdivisions and all manner of strange new heresies among the Monophysites themselves ; one of these off-shoots of Monophysism falls into the worst abomination of which a so-called Christian can possibly be guilty—Polytheism ; for there was a sect of people who at last plainly said there are three Gods (p. 208). The 6th century in Eastern Christendom offers a desolating picture of confused heresies. And all the time the Barbarians loom on the frontiers of the empire. Never had Roman citizens so urgent reason to stand together and keep off the common foe as at this time, when they were tearing each other, murdering, raising tumults, deposing Emperors for the sake of ambiguous formulas. And then in the hot desert of Arabia arose the little cloud which was to burst over the richest province of the empire. Now from the churches for which these sects quarrelled and fought the altars have been taken away ; from their towers the mu'edḍin proclaims that Mohammed is the Apostle of God. It is a dismal story ; one can hardly deny that these preposterous Eastern Christians deserved the appalling disaster which swept over all their sects. Meanwhile, with the one exception of Pope Vigilius' incident (pp. 201–205), the whole West behind its Patriarch stood solid for Chalcedon and watched the turmoil in the East scornfully.

There is another general issue to be considered in the later Monophysite quarrels. Was the heresy their real motive at all ? It is difficult to believe that the reason which drove crowds of Egyptian peasants and Syrian monks to wild acts of violence, to rebellion, fighting, burning soldiers alive, was an abstruse question about our Lord's nature. So most historians see in all this story really a political motive, working under guise of a theological dispute. Egypt and Syria were just the two provinces in the East which had never been really loyal to the empire. They had never been thoroughly Hellenized. Both kept their own languages, both had ancient civilizations of their own, totally different from that of the Greek court of the Roman Emperor at Constantinople. To Syria and Egypt he was a foreign conqueror. The governors and soldiers whom he sent to keep order in these provinces were foreigners, holding down unwilling natives by force. So these countries were always ready for revolt, always

gave trouble to the Government. We see how loose was the bond which held them to the empire by the ease with which they fell a prey to the Arabs in the 7th century. In Syria and Egypt the natives welcomed, instead of resisting, these enemies of the empire. It was no doubt this same feeling of local patriotism, of anti-imperialism, which made the natives of these countries Monophysites. To Egyptians especially it was a matter of national honour. They remembered the Council of Ephesus in 431 as the great triumph of Egypt over the "East" and over Constantinople. There the Egyptian Patriarch had deposed the Bishop of Constantinople. St. Cyril was their great national hero. Understanding very little of the theological issue, the Egyptian monks, parabolani, peasants, triumphed again when at Ephesus in 449 their Patriarch once more deposed a Bishop of Constantinople. It was the same thing over again. As Cyril had defeated Nestorius, so did Dioscor, Cyril's successor, defeat Flavian, Nestorius's successor. And then Chalcedon reversed the process. There Anatolius of Constantinople and the Emperor deposed Dioscor. It was an appalling, an unheard-of outrage on Egypt that its Patriarch, its "ecclesiastical Pharaoh," should stand as a culprit before Byzantine bishops, should be deposed, excommunicated, banished. So Egypt rose to defend its Pharaoh, to defend the cause of Ephesus and Cyril, which was the cause of the old Fatherland by the Nile. It was Egyptians who first persuaded people in Syria and Palestine to join them in the common cause against the Emperor and his Government. The decrees of Chalcedon were made the law of the empire; they were enforced by Government, sometimes very cruelly. So these provinces found in resisting Chalcedon an outlet for their simmering hostility to the Emperor. What really mattered most to the great crowd of Monophysites who remained after Chalcedon was not a difficult point of metaphysics: it was that the Government wanted to enforce this teaching—therefore they were against it. The faith of Chalcedon was Cæsar's religion, therefore it was not theirs. If they could not overturn Cæsar's rule altogether, at anyrate they could stir up riots in this matter and could show how they hated him by refusing to accept his theology.

Then there was the usual reversed movement. As heresy

sprang from political movements, so did political movements spring from the heresy. The Monophysites became a powerful and dangerous faction. They had their own leaders in politics; the question of conciliating the Monophysites comes up continually, in the usurpations and rivalries around the Imperial throne there are pretenders—claimants who come forward avowedly as champions of Monophysism, who are backed by all Monophysites, while the Chalcedonians fight against them.

The first scene of Monophysite agitation was naturally Egypt. Egypt heard of the humiliation of its hero Dioscor with fury. Already at Chalcedon thirteen Egyptian bishops refused to sign the decrees.¹ After the Council the party in Egypt which accepted it² elected one Proterius, formerly a priest of Alexandria,³ who accepted Chalcedon, to succeed Dioscor. We have already seen that Dioscor was banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia, and died there in 454. Before he died, the Egyptian Monophysites send a deputation to assure him of their unswerving fidelity to him and to his Robber-Synod. The Emperor, on the other hand, published a new decree (July 28, 452) threatening dire penalties against all who do not acknowledge Proterius. So we have already clearly the two parties in Egypt. The "Imperial" party, the Greek garrison, officials, governors—in short, the foreign ruling class—obey the Emperor, accept Chalcedon and acknowledge Proterius. This party acquires a name which was to become famous in Egypt and Syria, which is still used, though now in a different sense. They are the "Imperialists," in Greek βασιλικοί.⁴ In Syria the Emperor (βασιλεύς) is always *malkâ*, in Arabic *almalik*. From this comes the form *Melkite*,⁵ meaning exactly

¹ Their excuse was ingenious. They said that their Patriarch was deposed; no other had yet been appointed. Therefore they had no chief and could not do anything. Mansi, vii. 482.

² That is the Court party, the Greek official class. Liberatus calls them the "nobiles civitatis" (*Breviarium Historiæ Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, written between 560 and 566, cap. 14; P.L. lxxviii. 1016). These are the first "Melkites."

³ Liberatus calls him Archpriest (*ib.*); Eutychius of Alexandria (933-940; *Contextio gemmarum*, P.G. cxi. 1054) says he was Archdeacon.

⁴ So Timothy Salophakiolos, Proterius' successor, is called βασιλικός by Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 11; P.G. lxxxvi. 2533).

⁵ Μελκίτης, with a Greek ending. The Syriac form is *malkâyâ*, Arabic *malakīyū*.

the same as βασιλικός. A Melkite, then, is a man, in Syria or Egypt, who accepts Chalcedon, the opposite of a Monophysite—in short, an orthodox Catholic. So the name is used down to the great schism between the “Orthodox” and Catholics in the 11th century. Since then, though it has still sometimes been used for both sides in that schism,¹ the name Melkite, by a strange accident, is generally restricted to people in these lands who are in union with the Pope and use the Byzantine rite.² Now, Byzantine Uniates in Semitic countries are the Melkites. But before the great schism Catholics and “Orthodox” are one, so we may call them indifferently by either name, or Melkites, as opposed to Monophysites and other heretics. Opposed, bitterly opposed, to the Melkites, to the Emperor’s Patriarch Proterius, was the great mass of the native Egyptian population. Especially now we see how much politics had to do with this heresy. The native Egyptians, who kept their own language, hating the empire and the Imperial functionaries and soldiers, were ardent Monophysites, loathed Proterius and clung to Dioscor, their national hero. Since the Egyptian language is already Coptic, we may now call these Egyptian Monophysites Copts (p. 215). We shall see that they become the national Church of Egypt. The Emperor sent an additional garrison of 2000 soldiers to Alexandria to keep down the Monophysites and enforce Proterius’s authority. Proterius did enforce his authority; he oppressed the natives cruelly. Then came the news of Dioscor’s death in 454.³ This should have helped to bring about order by removing Proterius’s rival. Instead, it inflamed his adherents with the memory of his sufferings. The Copts, the great crowd of Egyptian monks, who had never recognized Proterius, clamoured for a successor to Dioscor. Naturally Proterius, the garrison and the Melkites would not admit that Dioscor needed a successor. Just then the Emperor Marcian died (February 1, 457). He was succeeded by Leo I (457–474). The Copts took advantage of the inevitable disturbance at a change of reign to break into open revolt. Their leader was

¹ This should be noted. Even now the Orthodox, as well as Uniates, are sometimes called Melkites, in the old sense, as opposed to Monophysites.

² It is a strange accident, since Imperial is just what the Uniates are not.

³ The Copts keep his memory as that of a saint and martyr (p. 287).

one Timothy, surnamed the Cat.¹ He had been a friend of St. Cyril, then of Dioscor. He was a pronounced Monophysite, though he formally rejected Eutyches's special ideas.² Now he emerges as the chief Monophysite leader after Dioscor's death ; he is one of the founders of the heretical Coptic Church. Timothy was schismatically ordained by three Monophysite bishops as Dioscor's successor. Proterius, protected by the soldiers, of course refused to acknowledge him in any way. But at Easter 457, Proterius was murdered by the mob, and his body was dragged around the city. Timothy at once occupied the Patriarch's palace, excommunicated and drove out all Chalcedonian bishops. These protested to the Emperor.³ Meanwhile the mob shut up the soldiers in the old Serapeion (Temple of Serapis), set fire to it, and burned them alive. All Egypt was in an uproar. Timothy also had written to the Emperor asking to be recognized as Patriarch of Alexandria. The Emperor (Leo I) embarked on that futile policy of trying to conciliate the Monophysites which was to cause so much trouble for centuries. Instead of rejecting the Cat's insolent petition at once, instead of sending an army to avenge the massacre of his soldiers and punish the rebels, he fell back on the time-honoured expedient of summoning a new council to discuss Timothy's claim and, presumably, to reopen the whole question settled by Chalcedon. Anatolius of Constantinople urged him to do this. The self-styled Patriarch of Constantinople still felt uncertain about his position and his 28th Canon of Chalcedon. The legates and then the Pope had rejected it formally. Anatolius thought that a new council might, incidentally, fortify and regularize his own position. So in October 457, Leo, the Emperor, sent out a letter (composed by Anatolius)⁴ to all bishops of the empire, asking their opinion about events in Egypt, and inviting them to a synod to discuss the matter. But this time there was no council. With one exception⁵ they all answered that there is nothing to

¹ Τιμόθεος Αἰλουρος. Αἰλουρος is a cat or weasel ; in Egypt more likely to be a cat. This is apparently a nickname given by his enemies.

² This is again evidence that a man may be a Monophysite and yet reject Eutyches.

³ Evagrius : *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 8 (P.G. lxxxvi. 2524-2525) ; Mansi, vii. 524-530.

⁴ Mansi, vii. 521-522 ; cf. 795.

⁵ Amphilochius of Side in Pamphylia.

discuss. Chalcedon has settled the question; Timothy is a heretic and a bloodthirsty rebel; he must be turned out.¹ Pope Leo answers strongly to the same effect; he wants no more synods about Monophysism, he insists that Timothy can never be acknowledged lawful Patriarch of the see which he has iniquitously seized.² Then Anatolius died (July 3, 458), and was succeeded by Gennadius I (458-471), a learned and accomplished person,³ firmly devoted to the faith of Chalcedon. Gennadius and the uncompromising answers of the Pope and bishops persuaded the Emperor to give up his idea of a new synod. Instead, he took a stronger line and banished Timothy the Cat. It was not till early in 460 that the Imperial garrison again obtained enough power in Egypt to carry out this sentence. Then the Cat was brought to Constantinople and sent into exile in the Chersonesus. He ought to have been put to death for a rebel and a murderer. Another Timothy, called Salophakiolos,⁴ a Catholic, was made Patriarch of Alexandria. He was kind to the Monophysites, perhaps too ready to compromise with them. They are reported by Liberatus to have said to him: "If we do not communicate with you, yet we love you."⁵

Meanwhile, there was as much trouble in Palestine.⁶ Juvenal of Jerusalem was one of Dioscor's chief supporters at the Robber-Synod. At Chalcedon he expressed great regret for this, rehabilitated himself, signed the Chalcedonian decree, and in return at last secured the Patriarchate for himself and his successors.⁷ But when he came home he found a great part of his newly

¹ Some of these letters are in Mansi, vii. 537-627.

² Ep. 162 (P.L. liv. 1143-1146).

³ "Gennadius, Pontiff of the Constantinopolitan Church, a man of polished speech and acute mind, was so well versed in the writings of the ancients that he made a literal commentary on the whole of the prophet Daniel. He also composed many homilies. He died while the elder Leo held the empire." Gennadius of Marseilles: *de Viribus illustribus*, 89 (ed. Bernoulli in Krüger's *Sammlung*, xi., Freiburg and Leipzig, 1895, p. 92).

⁴ Σαλοφακίολος = Wobble-hat (σάλος and φακίδιον). These people have curious nicknames. This one is apparently a term of reproach implying weakness of character and general vacillation.

⁵ *Breviarium caus. Nest. et Eutyech.* 16 (P.L. lxxviii. 1020).

⁶ Since Chalcedon made Jerusalem a Patriarchate (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 27) we may count Palestine (under Jerusalem) separate from Syria (under Antioch).

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 26-27.

acquired Patriarchate up in arms against him. He had changed sides, had denied the very cause of which he had been so great a champion. It was chiefly the monks of Palestine who now declared for Monophysism. There was an enormous number of them—ten thousand. An Egyptian monk, Theodosius, who had been an unwilling witness of the Council of Chalcedon, persuaded his Palestinian brethren that this synod had betrayed the faith of Cyril and Ephesus, had gone over to Nestorius. And their bishop, now returning in the pride of being a Patriarch, was contaminated by this stain. A lady then living in retirement at Jerusalem took the side of the angry monks vehemently. This was the Dowager Empress Eudokia, widow of Theodosius II. She had been a pagan at Athens, named Athenais, daughter of an old professor Leontios. When Theodosius's sister Pulcheria looked out for a bride for her brother, her choice fell on this little pagan girl. Her extraordinary beauty and talent made her not unworthy of the Emperor's love, while her humble station seemed to secure that she would not interfere with her powerful sister-in-law. So Athenais was baptized, taking the more Christian name Eudokia, and was duly married to Theodosius (June 7, 421). For a time she was very powerful; surrounded by Christian influence, she became ardently Christian, went on pilgrimages,¹ and had more influence over her husband than Pulcheria liked. Then came her tragic fall; she was accused, rightly or wrongly, of misconduct with a courtier, Paulinus. The story is all about an apple. Theodosius, master of the Roman world, thought he would give his wife a really handsome present. So he gave her an apple from Phrygia of incomparable size and ripeness. Eudokia, overwhelmed by the splendour of the gift, thought the apple far too fine to be eaten by her; so, alas! she gave it to her guilty lover Paulinus. Paulinus, possessed of this gorgeous object, having no idea whence it originally came, thinks he can curry favour with the Emperor by offering it to him. So the apple goes all the way round and comes back whence it started. Theodosius is naturally furious when his apple comes back to him. He hides it in his robe, goes to find his wife, and asks her what she had done

¹ It was Eudokia who brought St. Peter's chains from Jerusalem. See the lessons of the second nocturn in the Breviary for Lammass-day (Aug. 1).

with the apple he had given her. "I ate it," said Eudokia. Then of course, he produced it, and there was a scene.¹ As a result of the suspicion about Eudokia and Paulinus² she was banished, went to Jerusalem in 442, and stayed there eighteen years, till her death in 460. At Jerusalem whatever old remnants of the Pagan philosopher there were faded away. Eudokia became a kind of nun, devoting her old age to meditation on the Passion of Christ at the place hallowed by its memory. She fell in with the Monophysites. Perhaps the fact that her old enemy Pulcheria and Pulcheria's husband Marcian had so much to do with Chalcedon made her more ready to believe that that synod had betrayed the faith of Ephesus, held during her own reign. With her meditation she mixed Monophysism, and became, as Dowager Empress, a great power to that party. There are few more romantic episodes in Byzantine history than the story of the little Pagan Athenian, after her short burst of splendour as Empress, spending her old age in long years of mortification and prayer at Jerusalem, the head of a turbulent body of heretical monks.³

The monks then, with their patroness, drove out Juvenal and set up the Egyptian Theodosius as anti-Patriarch. Other Chalcedonian bishops were expelled and a Monophysite hierarchy intruded in most sees. Nearly all Palestine was Monophysite. Juvenal fled to Constantinople and implored the Emperor's help. Marcian published an edict against the heretics in Palestine and sent soldiers to enforce it. The monks had already shed blood in their rebellion. Now it was put down severely. After some fighting, order was restored. Theodosius was brought a prisoner to Constantinople, where he died in captivity; the Monophysite intruded bishops fled, mostly to Egypt.⁴ Juvenal and the Catholic hierarchy were restored; for a time there was quiet. At the end of her life Eudokia was converted to Chalcedon by the Catholic

¹ This odd story is told by John Malalas: *Chronographia*, xiv.; ed. Dindorf (Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., Bonn, 1831), pp. 356-357.

² She always swore that she was perfectly innocent; very likely she was. The mighty Pulcheria was jealous of her influence, and wanted to get rid of her.

³ Eudokia's story is told by C. Diehl: *Figures Byzantines*, i. (Paris, 1906), pp. 25-49.

⁴ One of the chief of these was Peter of Iberia, who had been made Bishop of Gaza.

monk Euthymius, who was a great power on that side. She died reconciled to the Church.

At Antioch a priest, Peter the Fuller,¹ started an agitation against Chalcedon ; so that while the Eastern part of the Antiochene Patriarchate was falling away into Nestorianism, the West and the Patriarchal city itself were torn by the opposite heresy. Peter was protected and encouraged by the Emperor's son-in-law Zeno, then commander-in-chief of the forces in Syria ;² he, too, gathered around him a strong party, succeeded in driving out the lawful Patriarch, Martyrios, and set himself up as Patriarch of Antioch (about the year 471). This Peter is famous as the author of a liturgical clause which was destined to cause much trouble.

Just before the lessons (or just after them) in the Antiochene rite they sing the Trisagion. This is the verse which occurs in the Roman rite on Good Friday : " Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy on us." ³ Peter added a clause to this, and made his clergy sing : " Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, *who wast crucified for us*,⁴ have mercy on us." At first sight it is not easy to see anything wrong in this, nor why all Chalcedonians objected to it so strongly. It depends, of course, on who is addressed. If the prayer is made to Christ, the addition is perfectly correct ; it might well stand as a protest against Nestorianism. He (the same person) who is God, holy and immortal, was crucified for us. On the other hand, it was always supposed that the Trisagion is addressed to God, to the Holy Trinity.⁵ In this case Peter's addition would involve the idea that the Holy Trinity was crucified. This is one of the strange corollaries of the Monophysite idea. It would follow. If our Lord has only one nature, we cannot say (as we do) that he died in his human nature, while his divine nature remained im-

¹ Γραφεύς, *fullo*, a cloth-dresser, apparently his trade.

² Afterwards himself Emperor (474-491).

³ In the Greek Antiochene liturgy it occurs before the lessons (Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 35) ; in the Syriac form it follows the first (*ib.* p. 77). The Byzantine (p. 370), Armenian (p. 423), Alexandrine (118, 155), Abyssinian (218), and Nestorian (255) rites also have the Trisagion at about the same place.

⁴ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, *deşilebth hlâfain*.

⁵ Its triple form suggests this ; though, of course, one must not think that the three invocations are meant one for each Divine Person.

mortal. It would follow that his Divinity died. This really *is* a contradiction in terms. It would also follow (since there is only one Divinity, since Christ's Divinity is identical with that of his Father and the Holy Ghost) that the Holy Trinity died. Between Good Friday and Easter Day there would be no living God. The idea is plainly monstrous and blasphemous. Nevertheless, there was a sect, a subdivision of Monophysites, which held this. They are called *Theopaschites*; ¹ their watchword is: "God was crucified" ² (p. 201). Peter the Fuller was the first Theopaschite. His clause in the Trisagion was adopted by the Monophysites as a kind of profession of their heresy. For this reason it was rejected by all who kept the faith of Chalcedon. Peter's second successor, Kalandion (p. 192), finding the formula established and greatly beloved by the people, being himself a Catholic, amended it by a further addition, which made it entirely orthodox. His Trisagion was: "Holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, *Christ the King who wast crucified for us*, have mercy on us." This makes it clear to whom the prayer is addressed; in this form there is nothing whatever to complain of. But the Monophysites would not accept the words: "Christ the King." Better than anything else this fact shows that they really did mean heresy by their formula. So Kalandion's addition had no success. The words "who wast crucified for us," in the Trisagion remained a declaration of Monophysism. They are still used in the liturgy of every Monophysite Church.³ Dionysius Bar Šalībī († 1171), Monophysite bishop of Amida, and one of their great liturgical

¹ *θεοπασχῖται* (θεὸς πάσχει, "God suffers"). The name needs explanation. We are all Theopaschites in the sense that we believe that God the Son suffered.

² *ὁ θεὸς ἐσταυρώθη*. Again a perfectly correct form, if it means that God the Son was crucified. It is difficult to understand the strong feeling of many Catholics against these formulas unless we remember that they arose in Monophysite circles, and were known to be meant as indirect attacks on Chalcedon. Even *θεοτόκος* might have been suspected if it had arisen under these circumstances.

³ In the Coptic liturgy (Brightman, p. 155), Jacobite (*ib.* p. 77), Armenian (p. 423), Abyssinian (p. 218). On certain feasts, similar suitable clauses ("who wast born of the holy Virgin Mary," "who didst rise from the dead") are substituted. Unless we remember their origin, we see nothing in these but what is edifying. The second Trullanum Council (692), Can. 81, forbade the clause to the Orthodox.

writers (p. 331), gives a long justification of the addition. One of his explanations is that when our Lord was buried three choirs of angels bore his body to the grave; one choir sang "Holy God"; one, "Holy and strong"; one, "Holy and immortal"; then Joseph and Nicodemus added: "who wast crucified for us, have mercy on us."¹

Peter the Fuller did not reign long. The Emperor, Leo I, was determined not to allow Monophysism anywhere. So after a few months the soldiers received orders to turn him out. Martyrios was not restored; he was weary of the trouble, and had freely resigned the Patriarchate. A certain Julian became Patriarch in 461.² There is now an organized and powerful Monophysite party in Egypt, Palestine and Syria; it has adherents at Constantinople.

Leo I (the Emperor) died in 474. He was succeeded by his grandson, Leo II, a child, who died almost at once. Then came Zeno (474-491). Soon after there was a revolution; Zeno fled, and a usurper, Basiliskos (brother-in-law of Leo I), made himself Emperor for a short time (475-476). Basiliskos was the avowed champion of the Monophysite party. Timothy the Cat was his intimate friend. He immediately restored the Cat at Alexandria, and the Fuller at Antioch; he ordered all his subjects to anathematize the Tome of Pope Leo I and the Council of Chalcedon. Five hundred bishops obeyed. Then Zeno came back with an army; Basiliskos was defeated and murdered (476). The situation was again reversed. Salophakiolos was restored at Alexandria; John Kodonatos became Catholic Patriarch of Antioch. But in Egypt the Copts set up Peter Mongos,³ former archdeacon of Timothy the Cat, as rival Patriarch. At Antioch, Stephen II succeeded John Kodonatos. They murdered him in 479. Then came Stephen III and Kalandion; while all the time Peter the Fuller had the allegiance of the Monophysites, and waited to be

¹ *Expositio Liturgiæ*, ed. H. Labourt (Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.; Scriptores Syri, ii. Tom. 93), Latin version, pp. 43-45.

² Theophanes Confessor: *Chronogr.* (P.G. cviii. 292); Liberatus: *Brev. xviii.* (P.L. xlviii. 1026-1030).

³ Μόγγος, stammerer. Timothy the Cat died just at this time (July 31, 477); cf. Gutschmid: *Verzeichnis der Patriarchen v. Alexandrien* (in his *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1890, ii. p. 453).

restored. In 481 Salophakiolos died. The Copts clamoured for Peter Mongos; but a Catholic, John Talaia, was elected. During these disturbances Pope Simplicius (463-483) upheld firmly his own supreme authority¹ and the faith of Chalcedon.

5. The Acacian Schism (484-519)

But the Emperor Zeno had learned in Basiliskos' rebellion the strength of the Monophysite party. He now began that fatal policy of conciliating it, which did not succeed, which brought distress to all faithful Catholics and a schism with Rome. In this policy he was encouraged by Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople (471-489). Peter Mongos, having fled to the capital when John Talaia was elected, persuaded Acacius and Zeno that his party, the Monophysites, would give endless trouble to the Government unless they were met half way. So in 482, Zeno published a decree called *Henotikon*,² which was meant to satisfy all parties. It was drawn up by Acacius, helped by Peter Mongos. The *Henotikon* declared as symbols of the faith the creed of Nicæa-Constantinople, the twelve anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria, and the decrees of Ephesus only. Nestorius and Eutyches³ are both condemned. The expression "two natures" is avoided; our Lord is said in general to be "one, not two." This completely ignores Chalcedon. Worse, the decree contains the phrase: "Whoever thinks or has thought otherwise, whether at Chalcedon or at any other synod, is excommunicate."⁴ Everyone was to sign this Imperial "Unification," and everyone was to be satisfied. Naturally, no one was satisfied. The Monophysites wanted a categorical rejection of Chalcedon, an acceptance of the decrees of

¹ His letter of January 9, 476, to Acacius of Constantinople says: "In his (Leo I's) successors this same standard of the apostolic teaching remains. To them the Lord gave the care of the whole flock . . . he said that what is bound by their sentence on earth cannot be loosened in heaven" (Thiel: *Ep. Rom. Pont.* p. 178).

² *Ἐνωτικόν*, unification.

³ We have seen that the Monophysites were quite willing to condemn Eutyches (pp. 168-169).

⁴ The text of the *Henotikon* is in Evagrius: *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 14 (P. G. lxxxvi. 2620-2625), and Liberatus: *Breviarium*, 17 (P. L. lxviii. 1023-1024).

Dioscor's Robber-Synod ; and no Catholic could accept this compromise or sign a document which treated the last general council in such a way. Zeno's Henotikon is one of many attempts to shelve a hotly disputed question instead of solving it ; such attempts are always doomed to failure.

But there were time-servers willing to please the Emperor, whatever he demanded. Peter Mongos willingly signed the Henotikon, in whose composition he had played a great part. He was restored to Alexandria by the Government ; John Talaia, the Catholic Patriarch, was driven out and fled to Rome. Here he became the friend and counsellor of several Popes, notably of Gelasius I (492-496).¹ Mongos imposed the Henotikon on the clergy of Alexandria. But a number of extreme Monophysites (chiefly monks) would not accept it from their side, renounced his jurisdiction, and became the sect of the *Akephaloi*.² So also in the Patriarchates of Antioch (where Peter the Fuller now came back in triumph, 485) and Jerusalem (where Martyrios, Juvenal's successor, accepted it) the Henotikon was imposed on equally reluctant Catholics and Monophysites.

From all sides complaints came to the Pope. At this time Felix II (or III,³ 483-492) reigned. He sent legates to Constantinople to maintain Chalcedon and restore the deposed Catholic bishops. But Zeno threw them into prison, and then bribed them to accept Mongos's restoration. Just then John Talaia arrived in Rome, and was able to report to the Pope all that went on in the East. In 484 Felix held a Roman synod and excommunicated Acacius of Constantinople as responsible for the intrusion of Mongos and the Fuller, and as the author of the Henotikon. Once again we see Rome upholding the faith of a general council without compromise against the secular Government, while practically the whole East tamely accepted the tyrant's interference in a question of dogma.

¹ See " John Talaia " in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*. For his possible influence on the development of the Roman Liturgy see Fortescue : *The Mass*, pp. 164-165.

² 'Ακέφαλοι, " without a head."

³ The numbers of all Popes Felix are given differently, according as one does or does not count Felix, the anti-pope in the time of Liberius (who held the see from 357 to 365), as Felix II.

Acacius answered by striking the Pope's name from his diptychs.¹ We have come to the great "Acacian schism," the most famous of the temporary schisms of the Byzantine Church, which prepared the way all too well for the great schism of Photius.² It lasted thirty-five years. Rome would never accept the compromising Henotikon. Acacius died in schism (489); so did Peter Mongos (490), Peter the Fuller (488), and the Emperor Zeno (491). But Zeno's successor, Anastasius I (491-518), maintained the Henotikon, and the Eastern bishops accepted it. After Acacius of Constantinople came Fravitas or Flavitas (489-490). He was anxious to return to communion with the Pope, but he would not break with Mongos nor reject the Henotikon; so no union could be established. Euphemius of Constantinople (490-496) was still more disposed to end the schism. He restored the Pope's name to his diptychs, even gave up Mongos, but could not make up his mind to renounce the Henotikon, or to admit the error of his two predecessors. Macedonius II of Constantinople (496-511) was made to sign the Henotikon at his accession.³ Now we see the result of these compromises. The Emperor Anastasius had sworn at his coronation to maintain the faith of Chalcedon; he began merely by continuing Zeno's compromising policy; but gradually the tendency of all compromises to revert to one extreme or the other made itself felt. Anastasius already had all the West, staunch upholder of Chalcedon, against him; he gradually slipped into the other extreme and became, in the latter part of his reign, frankly a Monophysite. Timothy I of Constantinople (511-518) was simply a Monophysite, hand in glove with the Monophysites of Egypt and Syria.

¹ Gustav Krüger considers that this was "the only right thing to do" (Herzog and Hauck: *Realencyklopädie*, xiii. p. 382, l. 57). I suppose it was, from the point of view of the Byzantine Patriarchs. Nearly always they prefer the Emperor's favour to the Catholic faith; so they follow their masters, condemn what they themselves have defined, define what they have condemned, as the wind blows from the court. This saved them a lot of trouble. But it is difficult to see how anyone can think it dignified.

² *Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 84.

³ Macedonius II did gradually come round to the Catholic position. But the Emperor had now taken up Monophysism definitely; so Macedonius was deposed and banished (511), and Timothy I was intruded in his place.

Meanwhile, at Alexandria, after the death of Peter Mongos (490), a line of Monophysite Patriarchs followed. It seemed as if, since John Talaia had fled (p. 194), Egypt was to remain definitely Monophysite.

At Antioch and Jerusalem the situation was more complicated. Peter the Fuller of Antioch († 488) had a Monophysite successor, Palladius (490-498); then came Flavian II (498-511). He had once signed the Henotikon; but later he returned to the faith of Chalcedon and became firmly Catholic. The Monophysites were very strong in his Patriarchate, and they succeeded in driving him out. In the east of Syria especially the Monophysites were a power, as the opponents of Nestorianism. Nestorianism was now becoming a formal heretical sect, as we saw in Chap. III (p. 75). Its opponents in that part of the world naturally gravitated towards the other extreme, considering Chalcedon to be a concession to their chief enemies. We are coming to the situation already noted (p. 77) when the Eastern part of Syria was divided practically between Nestorians and Monophysites, neither of whom had a good word to say for Chalcedon. So from the vehement anti-Nestorians of the East came Syrian Monophysite leaders. Two of these are especially famous. Philoxenos or Aḡsnâya¹ was a Persian from Tahul by Beth Germai. He had been a disciple of Ibas at Edessa. Then he changed—not only gave up Nestorianism, but became the most ardent of Monophysites. Barhebraeus says that it was he who persuaded the Emperor Zeno to close the school of Edessa in 489 and to expel all Nestorians from the empire (p. 78).² Peter the Fuller made him Bishop of Hierapolis (Mabug, near the Euphrates) in 485. Philoxenos is a famous Syriac writer and authority for liturgical matters (p. 140, n. 3). He also became a fierce enemy of his Patriarch, when Flavian II was orthodox. He adopted the usual Monophysite plan of calling everyone who accepted Chalcedon a Nestorian.³

An even more famous Monophysite was Severus, a monk from Pisidia, at first in Constantinople. He was always a most vehement opponent of Chalcedon. He became a friend of the Emperor

¹ Xenaïas.

² Barhebraeus: *Chron. Eccl.*, ed. cit. iii. 56.

³ See his letter to the monks of a monastery near Edessa, written in 512, quoted by Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 15.

Anastasius II, was the chief cause of the Emperor's acceptance of definite Monophysism and of the deposition of Macedonius II (p. 195). Severus tried to introduce the famous addition to the Trisagion, made by Peter the Fuller (p. 190) at Constantinople. But the population of the capital was still orthodox ; it suspected Antiochene formulas. So there was a riot which prevented his plan and showed already that the Government's Monophysite policy was not popular.

At Jerusalem, after the Monophysite Theodosius was expelled, Juvenal was restored (453), and reigned till his death in 458. Then came Anastasius (458-478) ; Martyrios (478-486), who signed the Henotikon (p. 194) ; Salustius (486-494) ; and Elias (494-513). Elias was Catholic and held with Flavian II of Antioch. Severus at Constantinople wanted the Emperor to summon a synod which should finally revoke the decrees of Chalcedon. But Flavian and Elias succeeded in preventing this. The fall of both was now arranged by the Monophysites. Philoxenos of Hierapolis appeared at the capital at intervals (499 and 506), and further fortified his party. The Emperor was completely won by the heretics ; so they secured their triumph all over the East. At Constantinople Timothy I, their devoted partisan (p. 195), already reigned ; in Egypt John II (p. 219) was also a Monophysite and need not be interfered with. But Antioch and Jerusalem must be purged of their Chalcedonian Patriarchs. So in 512 Philoxenos held a synod, deposed Flavian of Antioch and made Severus Patriarch instead. Then, between them, they drove Elias from Jerusalem and set up John, Bishop of Sebaste, a Monophysite (John III of Jerusalem, 513-524), as his successor. Now all the Christian East, as represented by its Patriarchs, was solidly heretical. Its leader was Severus, now of Antioch. So much was he a recognized chief that " Severian " is the usual name for one group of Monophysites.¹ None of these people now cared to make

¹ Severus was not an extreme Monophysite. His attitude is rather that of a compromise on the lines of the Henotikon. But he was a determined opponent of the decrees of Chalcedon, thinking them to be nothing but revived Nestorianism. He was also a forerunner of the later Monothelites, inasmuch as he (apparently first) invented and defended the expression that in Christ there is one composite Divine-human operation (*μία θεανδρική ἐνέργεια*). See p. 210.

any approaches to Rome. The Acacian schism reached its climax ; the separation between the Catholic West and the Monophysite East was complete. But there were Catholics in the East too. During all the thirty-five years of the Acacian schism the "Akoimetoι"¹ monks of Constantinople broke with the heretical Patriarchs, kept the faith of Chalcedon and were in union with the Pope. And from all parts persecuted Catholics (Severus persecuted fiercely), monks, unjustly deposed bishops, sent appeals to the chief Patriarch in the distant Western land. Pope Gelasius I (492-496), one of the great successors of St. Peter, made advances and tried to heal the schism, but he could not compromise with Monophysism. Pope Anastasius II (496-498) and his successor Symmachus (498-514) were equally unsuccessful. Then came Hormisdas (514-523), who was to heal the breach. Just when Monophysism had triumphed throughout the East, when the heretics had established themselves firmly on all the Patriarchal thrones, the whole situation changed, as it does in the Eastern Empire, by the death of the Emperor. Anastasius II died suddenly in 518. He was succeeded by Justin I (518-527), already under the influence of his nephew the future great Emperor Justinian I. Both were Catholic ; as we have seen (p. 197), the people of Constantinople, too, were eager for the restoration of the faith of Chalcedon.

So, as soon as Justin reigns, there is a complete reaction ; the Monophysites are expelled, Chalcedon is again accepted by the Eastern Church, union with Rome is restored, the Acacian schism is ended. The Emperor and the people of Constantinople force the Byzantine Patriarch, John II (518-520), who succeeded Timothy I, to subscribe to Chalcedon and to excommunicate Severus. Severus, guilty not only of heresy but of having persecuted Catholics, of having shed orthodox blood, was deposed, and by flight escaped the death which probably awaited him. He came to Alexandria, the one place still held by his co-religionists. After one more vain attempt to assert his cause at Constantinople (in 533), after being again excommunicated in 536, he died in

¹ 'Ακοίμητοι, "sleepless." This does not mean that they never went to sleep. It was a monastery which had the special rule of keeping up continual prayers in its church, by successive relays of monks.

Egypt in 538.¹ A Catholic, Paul, became Patriarch of Antioch (519-521), and began persecuting Monophysites, just as Severus had persecuted Catholics. At Jerusalem John III, who was orthodox, was made Patriarch (518-524). Only Egypt under Timothy III of Alexandria (518-538) remained Monophysite.

Then reunion with Rome was arranged easily. Pope Hormisdas sent legates to Constantinople with his famous formula. The *Formula of Hormisdas* is one of the classical evidences of Papal authority in the early Church. It not only condemns Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscor, Acacius and the other Monophysite leaders, insists on the Tome of Leo I and on Chalcedon, but it declares in the plainest language possible the supreme authority of the Pope and his right finally to define questions of faith. The Patriarch of Constantinople, the Emperor and all the Eastern Patriarchs and bishops (except in Egypt) sign it. The Pope's name is restored to the Byzantine diptychs ; on Easter Day 519 union between East and West is restored.²

But the end of this wearisome Monophysite quarrel has not yet come. For another century and a half it was still to disturb the Eastern Church ; many more attempts at reconciling the still powerful Monophysite party were to be made, and a large number of other heresies were to grow out of the main one. Egypt was still the stronghold of Monophysism ; the more than half rebellious population of that richest province of the empire was always a grave danger.

6. The Three Chapters (544-554)

The great Justinian I (527-565), statesman, lawgiver, conqueror, builder of the Church of the Holy Wisdom,³ occurs in our story

¹ Severus of Al-Ushmunain, the Monophysite historian of the Copts, naturally glories in the memory of " the Patriarch Severus, the excellent, clothed with light, occupant of the see of Antioch, who became a horn of salvation to the orthodox (*i.e.* Monophysite) Church, and who sat upon the throne of the great Ignatius." *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, ed. B. Evetts (Patrol. Orient. i. 449). See also Zachary Scholasticus : *Life of Severus*, in F. Nau : *Opuscles Maronites*, ii. (Paris, 1900). J. Lebon : *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain, 1909).

² For the formula of Hormisdas see *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 84-86.

³ There is now a tendency to belittle Justinian. It is, of course, always possible to say that the work done by a mighty sovereign is really due to

less favourably as a compromiser with Monophysism. He began well. As soon as he came to the throne he commanded acceptance of the four councils (Nicæa, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Chalcedon) from all his subjects. Even in Egypt he tried to establish the orthodox faith. When the Monophysite Timothy III died in 538, Justinian insisted on the appointment of a Catholic successor, Paul (538-542). But his wife led him astray. In 523 he had married Theodora. She had been a public dancing lady, and was always a strong Monophysite. The Empress Theodora, who takes a prominent place in our story (she secured a Monophysite hierarchy for Syria; see p. 324), is a very strange figure. Procopius of Cæsarea, the chronicler of the scandals of this time,¹ gives an appalling account of her career; Gibbon accepts this with his usual sneer.² Later writers have some doubt as to whether we are to accept all Procopius's foul anecdotes with confidence.³ In any case, the lady who faces her husband in the mosaics of San Vitale at Ravenna had a career romantic rather than commendable. Perhaps the strangest thing about her is that this ardent Monophysite of not even doubtful reputation is now a saint in the Orthodox Calendar—so easy for princesses is the Byzantine road to heaven.⁴

his good fortune in finding statesmen and generals to do it for him. It remains true that Justinian's reign is the most glorious episode of the Empire in the East, that he stands out as one of the five or six mightiest, most brilliant rulers in the history of the world. Dante puts him in the heaven of Mercury: "Cesare fui, e son Giustiniano," makes him confess his temporary Monophysism:

"E prima ch'io all'ovra fossi attento,
Una natura in Cristo esser, non più e,
Credeva, e di tal fede era contento,"

and his conversion by Pope Agapitus (*Paradiso*, vi. 10-21). Gibbon has little respect for his victories, but cannot withhold his admiration for his legislation: "the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations" (*Decline and Fall*, chap. xlv., ed. Bury, vol. iv. p. 441).

¹ *Secret History* (ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1833-1838). See Gibbon, chap. xl. (*ed. cit.* vol. iv. pp. 210-218).

² "If the creed of Theodora had not been tainted with heresy, her exemplary devotion might have atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for pride, avarice and cruelty" (*ib.* p. 217).

³ So Charles Diehl: *Figures Byzantines*, i. (Paris, 1906), 51-53.

⁴ *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 104. For Theodora's strange career see Diehl: *Théodora, Impératrice de Byzance* (Paris, 1904).

Theodora, then, always faithful to her side, persuaded Justinian to attempt yet another colloquy between Catholics and Monophysites, with the hope of reconciling them. This took place at Constantinople in 533. Severus, formerly of Antioch, came from Egypt as head of the Monophysites. But they gained nothing from this. Anthymos I of Constantinople (536) was suspect of leanings towards the heresy; so he was deposed, and Mennas (536-552) succeeded him. Mennas was firm for Chalcedon, and drove all Monophysites from the city.

During Justinian's reign the so-called Theopaschite dispute broke out again. This is the question whether one may say "God suffers,"¹ and whether Peter the Fuller's addition to the Trisagion be lawful. We have explained the issue above (pp. 190-192). Pope Hormisdas in 521 declared the formula not in itself heretical, but dangerous as suspect of Monophysism and because it was supposed to contradict Chalcedon. Instead of "One of the Trinity suffered" he proposed the form: "One of the three Divine Persons suffered in the flesh," which leads to no equivocation. There was much agitation about this question. The formula of Peter the Fuller became yet another of the many suggestions made by people weary of the long strife, who hoped thereby to go a little way towards conciliating Monophysites. At last in 533 Justinian published an edict declaring as the lawful formula: "The incarnate and crucified Son of God is one of the holy and consubstantial Trinity."² This is plainly correct. Justinian sent to Pope John II (533-535) asking him to approve it; he did so in 534.

The next incident is the deplorable story of Pope Vigilius. Theodora thought to gain the heart of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, Rome itself, for her heresy. When Pope Agapetus (535-536)

¹ ὁ θεὸς πάσχει.

² Ὁ σαρκωθείς καὶ σταυρωθεὶς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἔστί τῆς ἁγίας καὶ δμοουσίου τριαδός. The modern man naturally asks what this kind of thing has to do with the Government. We should be very much amused if the British Government were to make a law telling us what formulas we may use concerning the Holy Trinity. But in Byzantine times we must be prepared for this kind of thing. The Emperors are always telling their subjects what may or may not be believed. If such laws are correct, Rome accepts them; if not, she resists them fiercely, as she resisted the Henotikon.

died, she promised the papal throne to a Roman deacon, Vigilius, on condition that he made concessions towards Monophysism. The Imperial general Belisarius, then fighting Goths in Italy, was to secure his succession. Vigilius promised all the Empress asked. But Silverius (536-540) was lawfully elected Pope. In 536 Belisarius seized Silverius and sent him in exile to Patara, in Asia Minor, under pretext of his treasonable intercourse with the Goths. Vigilius was schismatically ordained Pope. So he starts his career as an anti-pope. But in 540, Silverius being dead, he is accepted by the lawful electors and begins his legitimate but unhappy reign (540-555). He had made promises to Theodora ; but now as Pope he finds the Papacy, the strong Catholic feeling of the West—shall we say the Providence of God, who will not allow the chief See to lead others into heresy—too strong for him. In all Vigilius's miserable vacillation he never really compromised with Monophysism. Pitiful as his figure appears, scandalously as he neglected his duty of confirming his brethren by a firm line held consistently, he did not, he could not, make shipwreck of the whole Catholic system by defining heresy. The issue was no question of faith, but of the opportuneness of casting opprobrium on men long dead, in the hope once more of conciliating Monophysites.

Vigilius's story is that of the *Three Chapters*. Theodore Askidas, Metropolitan of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and others thought they could perhaps reconcile these stubborn heretics by a new pronouncement which should make it quite clear that to accept Chalcedon did not mean becoming a Nestorian. The great "Eastern" doctors, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus and their school, were the people whose memory Monophysites specially hated. These were, they said, the masters from whom Nestorius had imbibed his poisonous ideas. So Theodore Askidas persuaded Justinian to publish an edict condemning three documents, alleged to be Nestorian. These documents, the famous *Three Chapters*,¹ are: (1) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (p. 60) ; (2) the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus in his Nestorian days (p. 166) ; (3) the Nestorian letter of Ibas to Maris (p. 76). Let it be understood at once that, as far as our faith is concerned, a Catholic could condemn these three

¹ Τρία κεφαλαία.

chapters to any extent. All three are really Nestorian. But it was a question whether there was sufficient reason, after about a century, to revive the memories of persons long dead, in order to curse them. The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon had declared the faith quite plainly enough. Why not let Theodore and Theodore and Ibas alone? So while the East accepted this condemnation, as it accepted all the Emperor did, the West was indignant and saw in this new edict yet another veiled concession to Monophysism. And the Pope wavered helplessly between the two.

In 544 Justinian published his edict condemning the Three Chapters. As usual, all bishops were to sign it. Mennas of Constantinople (536-552) signed, under the express condition that no attack against Chalcedon was meant and that the Pope should sign too. Otherwise his consent was not to count. The other Eastern Patriarchs signed. But all the West (where these condemned persons were no longer remembered, where there was grave suspicion of the Byzantine Government's edicts) refused to accept the condemnation. Justinian was naturally most anxious to obtain the Pope's consent. He implored him to come to Constantinople to examine the matter. Vigilius, after much delay, very unwillingly came in 547. Then begins the unhappy tale of his indecision and repeated change of mind. He was torn between two tendencies. On the one hand, he knew that there was no intrinsic reason why he should not condemn the works of these long-dead Nestorians; Justinian was doing everything possible to force the Pope to do so; all the East saw in this measure the one chance of reconciling the Monophysites, of putting an end to the disastrous turmoil which had troubled the Church already for a hundred years. On the other hand, Vigilius knew that his own Western bishops were fiercely opposed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, that if he condemned them he would be looked upon as a traitor by his own best friends; no doubt, too, he inherited the traditional Roman suspicion of Byzantine Emperor-made theology. As a further excuse for his want of decision, we must remember that he was being himself badly persecuted to make him accept the condemnation. At first he refused to condemn the chapters. Justinian then began treating him as a

prisoner. Vigilius is reported to have said a word which shows a fine sense of the dignity of his See, of the difference between the mighty throne of Old Rome and its present feeble occupant: "Even if you imprison me, you cannot take the Apostle Peter prisoner." Then followed conferences with the Byzantine bishops. On April 11, 548, Vigilius published a *Iudicatum* in which, with a most careful insistence on the faith of Chalcedon, he condemned the Three Chapters. At once, as he might have foreseen, the Western bishops protested indignantly against this act. Dacius of Milan, Facundus of Hermiane and the Africans were most angry with what they considered the Pope's treasonable concession to the Byzantine court. From now we have the curious spectacle (unique in Church history) of the Pope and the Eastern bishops on one side, opposed to the West. Justinian then demanded the usual remedy for such quarrels, a general council. Vigilius agreed and meanwhile withdrew his *Iudicatum*. But most of the Western bishops refused to attend the council. Now Justinian by his own authority issued a new decree, again condemning the Chapters (551). The Pope was very indignant at this; Theodore Askidas, the original author of the whole quarrel (p. 202), began excommunicating people who would not accept the Emperor's edict, so Vigilius excommunicated him. The Emperor tried to seize the Pope, but he took sanctuary in a church and there withdrew his consent to the council, excommunicating all who took part in it. However, a council met on May 5, 553, at Constantinople. Only 165 bishops attended it. Mennas of Constantinople was just dead (August 552); his successor Eutychius (552-565, 577-582) presided, after great efforts had been made, in vain, to persuade the Pope to do so. Vigilius sent to the council a *Constitutum*, which was another attempt at compromise. In this he condemned sixty propositions taken from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and forbade any other condemnation. The council refused to accept this, condemned the Three Chapters as the Emperor had done, authorized the formula, "One of the Trinity suffered," and incidentally declared Origen a heretic.¹

¹ The question of the doubtful orthodoxy of Origen's works was another matter much agitated during Justinian's reign. For the acts of this Synod see Mansi, ix. 173-420; Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* iii. (1) 68-132.

Vigilius then, worn out with the long strife, gave in, confirmed the acts of the council, and condemned the Three Chapters in another *Constitutum* (February 23, 554). He now only wanted to be set free and to go home. He was allowed to do so. But the unhappy Pope never again saw Rome. Worn out by that miserable time in Constantinople, he fell sick and died, on his return journey, at Syracuse in June 555. Never has there been so pitiful a Roman Pontiff as Vigilius.

In the West there was furious opposition to the council. In Africa especially, the bishops thought the Pope had betrayed the faith utterly, and they went into formal schism against their own Patriarch. In Northern Italy, Gaul, Spain and Britain too, there was great indignation. Pope Pelagius I (555-561) accepted the council, which his predecessor had at last confirmed. But the provinces of Africa, Illyricum, Milan and Tuscany remained in schism. This Western schism as the final result of the Three Chapters lasted a long time. Most of Africa returned to union with Rome in 559. Milan came back in 571, after Justin II's *Henotikon* (p. 206). In Illyricum the schism produced a result which lasts till now. The Metropolitan of Illyricum at Aquileia had already begun to assume (without any warrant) the title Patriarch.¹ Macedonius of Aquileia (539-556), leader of the schismatics, took the title definitely. His successor, Paulinus (557-571), moved his residence to Grado, a small island opposite Aquileia, keeping the title "Patriarch of Aquileia." This line of bishops returned to union with Rome in 606. As generally happens, they were allowed to keep the title they had already used for so many years.² Meanwhile, their schismatical suffragans restored the line of schismatical Patriarchs at Aquileia itself. There were now two "Patriarchs"—one of Aquileia-Grado, a Catholic, and a schismatical one at Aquileia itself. Aquileia-Grado then became Grado alone. It was not till 700 that a synod at Aquileia put an end to the schism altogether. Both lines of Patriarchs are now merged in the title of Venice. Venice absorbed

¹ Illyricum, on the frontier of East and West, was long a fruitful source of dispute between Rome and Constantinople (*Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 44-45).

² We shall see many cases of this among the Eastern Uniate bodies.

Grado in the 15th century. The city of Aquileia was overthrown by an earthquake in 1348; but its titular Patriarchs went on at Udine. This too was Venetian territory. So the Bishop of Venice took the title "Patriarch of Aquileia and Grado," till in 1751 Benedict XIV changed the old title to "Patriarch of Venice." These Catholic Patriarchs of Aquileia, Grado, and then of Venice have never had more than Metropolitan jurisdiction. It is the first case of the so-called "minor" Patriarchates, mere titles, in no way to be compared to the real Patriarchates in the East.¹ The Patriarch of Venice owes his title to the schism of the Three Chapters.

The Aquileian synod of 700 put an end to the last remnant of this schism in the West.² St. Gregory I (590-604) had done much to appease it. So eventually the *Second Council of Constantinople* (553), which condemned the Three Chapters, although it was œcumenical neither in its summoning nor its sessions, by the Pope's later acceptance and by universal recognition became the fifth general council.³

The quarrel of the Three Chapters gradually subsided. The Emperor Justin II (565-578), Justinian's successor, published a sensible edict in 571 (called *Henotikon*, like that of Zeno) in which he said that the faith is now sufficiently defined, people are to stop quarrelling over persons and syllables.⁴ This, unlike most Imperial attempts at ending theological controversy, really does mark the end of the disturbance.

During this time the Monophysites have broken up into a bewildering number of minor sects. Out of the movement begun by Eutyches and Dioscor the strangest complications have arisen. Severus, ex-Patriarch of Antioch, when at Alexandria (p. 198) in 519, expressed his opinion that the body of Christ, although joined "in one nature" with the Divinity, is corruptible (*φθαρτός*).

¹ See the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, s.v. "Patriarch and Patriarchate."

² See Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* III. i. 141-156.

³ The first and second Councils of Constantinople (381 and 553), counted as second and fifth among general councils, are both irregular in the same way. Both are œcumenical only by reason of a later acceptance.

⁴ Evagrius: *Hist. Eccl.* v. 4 (P.G. lxxxvi. (2), 2793-2801). Evagrius calls it a *πρόγραμμα* (2793). The "persons" are Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas; the "syllables" are the α of ἁφθαρτος (see p. 207).

Julian, Bishop of Halicarnassus,¹ then also at Alexandria, more consistently Monophysite, hotly maintained that it must be incorruptible. This approaches very near to Docetism, which is a fairly reasonable sequel of Monophysism. So Egypt is torn between the *Phthartolatrai*² and the *Aphthartolatrai*.³ This controversy is of considerable importance in the history of the Coptic Church. We shall return to it (p. 219). Meanwhile, as part of this general sketch of the heresy, we may note that Philoxenos of Hierapolis was an ardent Aphthartolatrae, and pushed this idea into pure Docetism; our Lord did not really suffer pain nor any other natural human weakness, he accepted only the appearance of these things. At the end of his life Justinian was converted to Aphthartolatrie, and wanted to make all bishops in his empire subscribe to it.⁴ But he died too soon (565), so the Church was spared at least this trouble. The Aphthartolatrai broke up into *Ktisolatrai*,⁵ who conceded that Christ's body was created, and the *Aktisnetai*,⁶ who denied this. Out of the Phthartolatrai came the sect of the *Agnoetai*⁷ or *Themistians*, founded by a Monophysite monk of Alexandria called Themistios. These held that there were things which Christ did not know. Now the curious point about this sect is that it must abandon the whole Monophysite idea. If our Lord were ignorant of anything, he must have a nature which could be ignorant, which, therefore, is not identified with the essentially all-knowing Divine nature. So the Themistians were excommunicated by Monophysite Patriarchs of Alexandria, as being no better than the common enemy, the Dyophysites. They remain in Egypt as a sect till the 8th century. A Monophysite at Constantinople in the time of Justinian,

¹ Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. Julian had been deposed for Monophysism during the Catholic reaction when Justin I became Emperor (p. 198). Like Severus and many Monophysites, he came to the harbour of his party, Alexandria. He arrived in 518, and apparently spent the rest of his life in Egypt.

² φθαρτολάτραι, worshippers of the corruptible.

³ ἀφθαρτολάτραι, worshippers of the incorruptible; also called ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται, believers in the incorruptible.

⁴ So Evagrius: *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 39 (P.G. lxxvi. (2), 2781-2784).

⁵ κτιστολάτραι, worshippers of the created.

⁶ ἀκτισνηταί, believers in the uncreated.

⁷ ἀγνοηταί, not knowing.

one John Askusnages, at last evolved pure Polytheism, teaching that the three Divine Persons are three Gods. This goes even beyond what one might expect in a Christian heresy. He was banished ; but he formed a school of *Tritheists*. John Philoponos (a professor of philosophy), a monk Athanasius and others defended this monstrous error in various works. Stephen Niobes, philosopher at Alexandria, carried the Monophysite principle a step further. He saw that, if Monophysites conceded any difference of Divine and human attributes in Christ, this would lead logically to admitting two natures in him. So his cry was : no differences (*διαφοραί*) in Christ at all. Damian, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria (570-605 ?), and his colleague Peter (of Kallinikos), Patriarch of Antioch (580-591), opposed this opinion ; others (Probus, priest at Antioch, and John Barbur, Abbot of a Syrian monastery) took up and formed yet another sect (the *Niobists*). They were excommunicated by the other Monophysites, and, strangely enough, many members of this extreme sect eventually came back to the Catholic Church. Hefele notices aptly that if the Monophysites who excommunicated Niobists really admitted distinct Divine and human attributes in our Lord, there could have been little but a mere verbal difference between them and Chalcedon, in spite of their formula, "one nature only." ¹

Towards the end of the 6th century Monophysism in Syria was going to pieces. In Egypt it was too strong, and had too much hold on the native population, to be much persecuted ; but in Syria (always less united than Egypt) it was only one party among others. There were severe laws against it. It was breaking up into all manner of minor sects. It seemed as if it were about to disappear altogether. Then came James Baradai, who spent his life gathering up the Syrian Monophysites into one strong body. He gave them a hierarchy and an organization ; and so practically founded the Jacobite Church. His story will be told when we come to Chapter X (pp. 323-325).

¹ Hefele-Leclercq : *Hist. des Conciles*, ii. (2), p. 878.

7. Monothelism (622-680)

In the 7th century there were the various Monophysite sects we have noted and many others—a bewildering ramification from the original trunk of Dioscor.¹ The heresy by this time had formed the organized Churches of the Copts, Jacobites, Armenians, and had conquered Abyssinia. As a movement within the empire it was now at an end. Then came the Moslems, and conquered just the provinces where Monophysism was strongest. We might almost leave its general history here. But there was one more result of this long quarrel, one more heresy, an offshoot of Monophysism, which we must notice. This is *Monothelism*. We need not discuss it at any length, because it would be rather far from our main subject. It would be quite possible to consider the Monothelite story as a really different matter; moreover, since Monothelism is the origin of the Maronite Church, we must come back to this heresy when telling the story of that now most Catholic body. On the other hand, a word about Monothelism should, perhaps, be added here, since it is the last of the great disturbances which arose out of the general Monophysite controversy.

It was, as usual, one more attempt to conciliate the Monophysites. The Emperor Heraclius (Herakleios, 610-641) was fighting Persians in Syria. The disloyal attitude of the Syrian Monophysites was a grave danger to the empire. Sergius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (610-638), had already evolved the idea that in our Lord there is but one will, one source of energy.² Heraclius thought that this formula would be a moderate concession, by which the Monophysites might be persuaded to return to union with the great Church and to loyalty towards the State. In 622 he proposed it to Paul, one of the leaders of the Armenian Monophysites. In 626 he suggested the same idea to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Anthanasius (c. 621-629), and to Cyrus, Metropolitan of Phasis in Colchis (on the Black Sea). They were

¹ For the almost endless Monophysite sects see Hefele-Leclercq, ii. (2), 875-878, and Gustav Krüger: *Monophysiten*, in Herzog and Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, xiii. 398-401.

² ἐν θέλημα καὶ μία ἐνέργεια.

both pleased with it. Cyrus became Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria (c. 630-642), and did with this formula reconcile many Monophysites in Egypt. But it was at the cost of fidelity to Chalcedon. The heretics realized this and triumphed, saying, "We have not gone to Chalcedon; Chalcedon has come to us." However, there was great rejoicing at Constantinople at their apparent conversion. But Sophronius, a monk of Jerusalem, realized what had happened, and made a firm stand against this compromise. He became Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638),¹ and was the great opponent of the new heresy.

The issue is simple. Our Lord's human will was certainly always in perfect accord with the eternal Divine will. In this sense we may say that he was of one will with his Father: "I do not seek my will, but the will of him who sent me" (Joh. v. 30). So his Divine will and his human will were never opposed to each other; he had one will, in the sense that there was always perfect harmony in our Lord. Never could it happen that his human will desired anything opposed to his Divine will, for that would be sin. In this sense, then, one might say that Christ had but one will, not one faculty, but always the same object of desire as God and man, one *volitum*, one thing willed by both natures. On the other hand, if we mean by will the faculty of willing, our Lord had two wills, because he had two natures. He had the eternal unchanging Divine will; ² he had also a perfect human nature, involving all human faculties, therefore involving a created, natural human will. He says so himself: "Not my will, but thine, be done" (Lc. xxii. 42). Exactly the same applies to the source of energy, the "*ἐνέργεια*," so much discussed in this controversy. Christ had two energies, Divine and human, though they were always in perfect accord. So the theory of "one will and one energy," Monothelitism,³ again cuts away the difference of his two natures; it denies his real and

¹ It was this Sophronius who was Patriarch when the Arabs conquered Jerusalem in 637; Omar "entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteously discoursed with the Patriarch concerning its religious antiquities" (Gibbon, chap. li.; ed. Bury, vol. v. p. 436).

² Identified, of course, as are all Divine powers, with the one Divine nature.

³ Μονοθελητισμός, *μόνον θελημα*, one will.

perfect humanity, and the Copts were right in saying that by this new formula Chalcedon had come to them. Sergius of Constantinople wrote to Pope Honorius I (625–638) telling him how by this formula, “one will and one energy in Christ,” many Monotheletes had been converted; and Honorius made his dire mistake, little thinking how dear his name would become, long centuries later, to Protestants and Old Catholics. We cannot now go into the Honorius question. He approved the formula as an easy way of stopping the controversy; he insisted on Christ’s two natures, he admitted “one will” clearly enough in the sense of complete concord, and desired the expressions “one” or “two energies” to be avoided equally. He said nothing heretical, and no later Pope would ever admit that he had. He made a deplorable blunder in tolerating an ambiguous expression, and had no idea how large the question would loom, how futile it was to try to hush it all up. Then he died, leaving his name to become a stock reproach to the Papacy in the mouths of thousands of people who do not know what he really wrote, who do not understand what an *ex cathedra* definition means, who know nothing of the whole story beyond a cloudy impression that Pope Honorius once did something awful which fearfully compromised the Catholic theory.¹

Except for this one feeble act on Honorius’s part, Rome and all the West were solidly opposed to Monotheletism. Heraclius tried to force it on the Church by a decree, the *Ekthesis*,² in 638. The Popes John IV (640–642) and Theodore I (642–649) condemned this. At Constantinople Abbot Maximus also became a firm opponent of Monotheletism. The Emperor Constans II (641–668) renewed the law of the *Ekthesis* in a fresh decree, *Typos* (648). Pope Martin I (649–655), in a Lateran synod (649), condemned both decrees. He was seized by the Imperial Exarch, brought to Constantinople, ill-treated and banished to the Chersonesus, where he died of his treatment, lacking even food, on September 16, 655,

¹ The literature on Honorius is enormous. His story (with further bibliography) will be found in Hefele-Leclercq: *Hist. des Conciles*, iii. 1, pp. 347–397, and in Dom J. Chapman: *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius* (C.T.S., 6d.).

² Ἐκθεσις.

the last martyr-Pope.¹ There was schism between Constantinople and Rome, while seven Byzantine Patriarchs held Monotheletism. Abbot Maximus was horribly tortured, and died in 662. Then, Constans II being dead, under his successor Constantine III (Pogonatos, 668-685), by arrangement with Pope Agatho (678-681), in 680 the *sixth general council* (Constantinople III) was held. The council confirmed the decree of the Lateran Synod of 649, condemned the Monothelete heresy, and anathematized a number of Monotheletes, counting Pope Honorius among them. It is well known that the fathers themselves distinguished the Pope in various sessions from the actual originators of the heresy, that Pope Leo II (682-683), who confirmed their decrees, admitted a condemnation of Honorius, not as a heretic, but as one who "did not cleanse this Apostolic Church by the teaching of Apostolic tradition, but by a profane betrayal allowed the immaculate faith to be overturned,"² which exactly expresses the extent of his guilt.³

Monotheletism then disappeared,⁴ except that it continued among the simple folk of the Lebanon, where it formed the Maronite Church. And with Monotheletism ends this long story of Monophysite disturbances. By the 8th century the controversy of nearly three centuries was over. The Monophysites were by no means extinct, any more than were the Nestorians. But they now had established their own organized Churches, whose story we have still to tell. In the Church of the empire, not yet divided by the schism of Photius, the faith of Chalcedon reigns supreme. Its next trouble is Iconoclasm, which is quite another matter. And as soon as Iconoclasm was over came the beginning of the most disastrous of all schisms, which cut away the "Orthodox"

We keep the feast of St. Martin I, Pope and martyr, on November 12; the Byzantine Calendar has his feast on April 13, September 15, and September 20. For an Orthodox acknowledgement of Papal rights, see their Synaxarion in his honour, quoted in Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, i. 137-138.

¹ Hefele-Leclercq: *op. cit.* iii. (1), p. 519.

² See Chapman: *op. cit.*

³ The story of this heresy will be found at length in Hefele-Leclercq, iii. (1), 317-471; that of the sixth General Council, 472-512; the condemnation of Honorius, 515-538.

from the Catholic Church. That story is told in the volume on the Orthodox Eastern Church.

Summary

This chapter is concerned with the long and involved story of the Monophysite heresy. Monophysism began as an exaggerated opposition to Nestorianism. Egypt, the land of Cyril, was always its headquarters. The essence of this heresy is that our Lord has only one nature, that his humanity is so absorbed in his Divinity that he would not really be a man at all. Eutyches, Archimandrite at Constantinople, first brought this view into prominence. Dioscor of Alexandria, St. Cyril's successor, was its chief champion. Dioscor first triumphed at the Robber-Synod of Ephesus in 449. He was defeated and deposed, and Monophysism was condemned by the fourth General Council at Chalcedon in 452. The faith of Chalcedon remains always that of the Catholic Church, as opposed to Monophysism. Pope Leo I had already declared this faith in his Tome, accepted with acclamation by the Council. After Chalcedon the Monophysite party was by no means extinct. It continued to cause enormous trouble to both Church and State for about two and a half centuries. During all this time there were continual attempts on the part of the Government to conciliate the heretics by meeting them half way. None of these attempts were successful, most of them were themselves a betrayal of the faith, all led to further trouble with Rome and the West. Zeno's *Henotikon* caused the Acacian schism, which lasted thirty-five years (484-519); Justinian's condemnation of the Three Chapters brought about the tragic incident of Pope Vigilius and the fifth General Council (Constantinople II, 553); Heraclius' compromise of Monotheletism caused the scandal of Pope Honorius I and the sixth General Council (Constantinople III, 680). Meanwhile, Monophysism produced a crowd of strange dependent sects. It was firmly established in Egypt and Abyssinia; it had many adherents in Syria and Palestine; the Armenian Church turned Monophysite solidly. So this heresy produced four Monophysite Churches (the *Copts* in Egypt, the *Abyssinians*, the *Jacobites* in Syria and Palestine, the *Armenians*), with a reaction on the distant missionary Church of *Malabar* (originally Nestorian).

CHAPTER VII

THE COPTIC CHURCH IN THE PAST

THE Coptic Church is the national Church of Egypt—the Alexandrine Patriarchate turned Monophysite. The overwhelming majority of the population of Egypt accepted this heresy. The orthodox in Egypt—the so-called Melkites—who clung to Chalcedon and the “Emperor’s Church,” were never more than a small minority of foreign (Greek) functionaries and the Imperial garrison. The situation is that Christian Egypt turned Monophysite. As a matter of historic continuity, the old Church of Egypt, the Church of Athanasius and Cyril, is now represented by the Monophysite Copts. They are the old Church, fallen into heresy and schism. The Orthodox in Egypt, with their foreign rite and foreign language, are just as much foreigners as the Latins. If a man pins his faith on the idea of one Catholic Church made up of separated national branches, the Egyptian branch should be the Coptic sect.

For the history of the Copts I use chiefly Eutychius, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria (933–940),¹ Severus of Al-Ushmunain,²

¹ Sa’id Ibn Baṭṭīk (Eutychius) : *Contextio Gemmarum* (in Arabic, *naẓm alġawāhir*, ed. by L. Cheikho, S.J., in the Corp. Script. Christ. Orient., 1906–1909 ; Latin version in P.G. ci. 889–1232), a history of the world down to 938, with details about the Church of Egypt from the orthodox point of view.

² Severus, Monophysite Bishop of Al-Ushmunain : *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (Arabic and English, ed. by B. Evetts in the Patrologia Orientalis, vols. i. and v.), a Coptic rival work to Eutychius. Severus’ history (to the 6th cent.) is continued by other writers to the 19th, and forms a kind of *Liber Pontificalis* of the Coptic Church.

Maḳrīzī,¹ AlMakīn,² Renaudot.³ Another modern compilation from these sources is Dr. Neale's *History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria*.⁴ Abū-Daḳn's little book⁵ contains some curious information. Mrs. Butcher's *Story of the Church of Egypt*⁶ has no value at all; she has not the most elementary notion of either Church history or theology.

1. The Copts in the Roman Empire

The name *Copt* means simply Egyptian. It is an Arabic form of the Greek for Egypt or Egyptian.⁷ Its present ecclesiastical sense is not very old. The Arab conquerors called all the natives they found in Egypt by this name, without any idea of a religious connotation. But since these natives practically all were members of the Monophysite national Church,⁸ from about the 14th century Europeans have used the word Copt for a member of that Church. In this sense it is now universal. A Copt is a member of the Monophysite Church of Egypt.⁹

It is not necessary to begin our account of the Coptic Church at the first evangelizing of their land, nor to discuss the doubtful authenticity of the tradition that St. Mark brought the Gospel

¹ Taḳīyu-dDīn alMaḳrīzī, a Moslem writer in Egypt († 1441), wrote a history ("Book of Exhortation and Consideration," *Kitāb alMuwa'az wa-lI'tabār*), which contains a long account of the Copts. This part has been edited in Arabic and German by F. Wüstenfeld: *Macrizi's Gesch. der Copten* (Göttingen, 1845).

² AlMakīn († 1275): *Historia Saracenica* (Arab. and Latin), ed. T. Erpenius, Leiden, 1625.

³ *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandr. Jacobit.* (Paris, 1713), mostly taken from Severus of Al-Ushmunain.

⁴ *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vols. iv. and v. (London, Masters, 1847).

⁵ Joseph Abudacnus: *Hist. Jacobitarum seu Coptorum*, Oxford, 1675.

⁶ London, Smith, Elder, 2 vols., 1897.

⁷ Kibṭ, Kibṭi, from Αἰγυπτῖος, αἰγύπτιος. This derivation is now admitted by almost everyone. The loss of the first syllable is quite in accordance with Arabic philology. They would consider it as *waṣla*, then drop it. So *bū* for *abū*, *-bn* for *ibn*, etc. A further consideration is whether αἰγυπτῖος comes from *Ha-ka-ptah*, "Houses of Ptah." The Arabic for Egypt is *miṣr*, the old Semitic name (Hebr. *miṣraim*).

⁸ A handful of native Egyptians has always been Melkite.

⁹ It is better not to call them Jacobites, keeping that name for their co-religionists in Syria, where it is much more suitable (see pp. 9, 336).

to Alexandria. In the case of the Nestorians their sect arose in an outlying little-known corner of the Church, whose previous history demanded some account before we came to the beginning of the heresy which eventually cut it off. But Egypt was a very important province of the Church. The origin of the Alexandrine Patriarchate, once second in Christendom, its famous school, the tragic story of Origen, the Arian heresy, the life of the greatest of all Alexandrine Patriarchs, Athanasius—this is in the strictest sense part of general Church history, which one may suppose known to every reader. And Cyril's war against Nestorianism, also well known, has been told again in our first part. Leaving all this, then, we begin our account of the Copts with their schism.

Our general account of Monophysism (Chapter VI) has already covered much of this. The shortest statement of the events which led up to the founding of a stable Monophysite Patriarchate in Egypt will be enough here.

At first, as happens in nearly every heresy, the heretics did not constitute themselves in a separate organized body. The quarrel begins more or less within the Church.¹ In Egypt we now see several lines of Patriarchs, each claiming the title of Alexandria, with a further qualification (Coptic Patriarch, Orthodox Patriarch, Uniate Patriarch, etc.), each agreeing to differ, and, side by side, ruling the various groups which recognize them. Now they have their *berat* from the Government, each for his own "nation"; they even pay each other friendly visits on New Year's Day. Not so at the beginning. No one then conceived the possibility of two Patriarchs side by side on terms of practical mutual recognition. There could be only one Patriarch, as there could be only one bishop in each see. The two parties, Monophysite and Catholic, struggled and fought over these. When a Catholic, supported by the Government, succeeded in holding the Patriarchal throne, he promptly drove out all Monophysite bishops, forbade Monophysite theology, tried to stamp out the heresy, and

¹ In most cases it is difficult to say exactly at what moment a sect has begun to exist outside the Church. At first the heretics are rather disturbers of the peace within. It is only gradually that, being excommunicate, they form themselves into a schismatical group, and so begin their career as a separate body.

persecuted the heretics without scruple. Then, when the native population succeeded in driving him out or murdering him, they set up a Monophysite as his successor, who immediately ejected all Catholic bishops, recalled the Monophysites and persecuted Catholics. This state of things lasted almost till the Arab conquest. It is a succession of Catholics and Monophysites, having in turn the upper hand over the same body, rather than two communities side by side. Sometimes there were two Patriarchs at the same time ; but neither in any way admitted the claim of the other. Generally there is one in possession of the Patriarchal palace and church and one deposed, who does not admit his deposition. So the situation lasts for about a century. It produces the result that the present Coptic and Orthodox Patriarchs of Alexandria, each claiming succession straight down from St. Mark, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril, must count representatives of the other faith among his own predecessors. The Orthodox counts Dioscor, the Copt Proterius, as (from their respective points of view) unworthy predecessors of their correct selves. During this long time of confusion, however, the two faiths were gradually forming two groups (an enormous Monophysite group, a tiny Orthodox group of Greek functionaries) ; so that eventually each kept its own line of Patriarchs, each became a separate body. Then different rites and different liturgical languages accentuated the separation. It would have saved much trouble, and incidentally much murdering, burning and mutual persecution, if that state of things had been admitted from the beginning, if the Government of Constantinople had frankly acknowledged two religions in Egypt, had let each have its own Patriarch and hierarchy. But this is a modern idea of toleration which we must not expect in the Byzantine state. Nor would it have satisfied the Monophysites : for in those days heretics were by no means content to be allowed their own religion ; they always hoped to capture the whole body of Christians to their view, just as Catholics always hoped to stamp out the heresy altogether. Let us again note, as a last general point, that all through this trouble, ever since Dioscor and his Robber-Synod (449), the Monophysites in Egypt were the overwhelming majority ; they had practically all the native population. Chalcedonianism was the religion of

the Greek garrison and officials, which the Byzantine Government was trying to force on turbulent and rebellious natives.

St. Cyril's successor, Dioscor of Alexandria (444-451, † 454), was, we have seen, a vehement Monophysite. In Lequien's list he is the twenty-fifth Patriarch since St. Mark.¹ We may count him as the first Coptic Patriarch, in the modern sense of Monophysite. But he was not, of course, conscious of beginning any new Church. He protested that he was defending the old faith of Athanasius and Cyril. And for a long time after him there is still only one line, held alternately by Monophysites and Orthodox. When Dioscor was deposed by the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Government made a Catholic, Proterius (451-457), Patriarch. Proterius was murdered in 457 and the Copts set up Timothy the Cat (457-460). Then he was banished, and a Catholic, Timothy Salophakiolos (460-475), was set up. Salophakiolos was ejected by the usurping Emperor Basiliskos in 475, and the Cat was restored. Zeno deposed the Cat and brought back Salophakiolos in 476. He reigned then till his death in 481. When the Cat died (479) the Copts set up Peter Mongos ; but at first he did not obtain possession. Instead, the Catholic John Talaia was appointed (482). Then came the Henotikon. Talaia would not sign it and fled to Rome. Peter Mongos signed, obtained the palace and church, and reigned till his death (482-490). Talaia was the last Catholic Patriarch for about sixty years. With Mongos we come to the time of the Acacian schism (pp. 193-199) ; Egypt becomes more and more the central home of all Monophysism, the harbour of refuge to which these heretics flee from all countries. Six Monophysite Patriarchs follow. Mongos fiercely persecuted all Melkites in Egypt. He became a tower of strength to his party, so that " communion with Mongos " was the recognized outward sign of inward Monophysism. But in Egypt the extreme Monophysites, who from their side were as dissatisfied with the compromising Henotikon as were loyal Catholics, refused to accept it, broke with Mongos because he did so, and formed the schism of " those without a Chief (Akephaloi, p. 194). " ² There were a number of other schisms and sects,

¹ Lequien : *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 409.

² *Allaḡān lā rā's lahum* in Severus of Al-Ushmunain (*ed. cit.* p. [210]).

strange parties with wild ideas into which the great Monophysite movement was breaking up.¹ After Mongos came Athanasius II (490-497), who tried in vain to force the Henotikon on Catholics and Akephaloi. Then followed John Hemula (John I, 497-507), who made an attempt at reunion with Rome, but without success, since he would not give up the Henotikon. John II (Nikiotes, 507-517) went beyond the Henotikon. He was an out-and-out Monophysite, who refused communion to everyone who would not formally reject Chalcedon. Dioscor II (517-520), a nephew of Timothy the Cat, reconciled the Akephaloi, since he too abandoned the Henotikon and taught pure Monophysism. During his time the end of the Acacian schism took place (517, p. 199) ; so he found himself out of communion with every other Patriarch and remained the one great Monophysite in the East. Severus of Antioch and Julian of Halicarnassus came to Egypt while Dioscor II was Patriarch ; further quarrels between factions of Monophysites began (pp. 206-208). Then came Timothy II (520-536), also a Monophysite. The Themistian heresy (p. 207) began in his time. The tide at Constantinople has now turned. The Acacian schism is over ; the Emperors Justin I (518-527) and then Justinian (527-565) are Catholics. Naturally Justinian tried to secure a Chalcedonian Patriarch at Alexandria. He summoned Timothy II to Constantinople, that he might give an account of himself. Timothy was about to obey, when by dying he was spared the deposition which awaited him. Then came a schism among the Monophysites themselves. We have referred to the sects of the Phthartolatrai, who, following Severus, admitted that the body of Christ was corruptible (moderate Monophysites), and of the Aphthartolatrai, the extreme party of Julian of Halicarnassus, which denied this teaching, practically Docetes (pp. 206-207). The Phthartolatrai at Timothy's death elected one Theodosius (538), their opponents chose a certain Gainas.² Theodosius succeeded in persuading the Government to banish his rival ; but he could not secure peace for his own reign. The people were extreme Monophysites, and looked upon him as little better than a Melkite. There were

¹ Lequien : *Or. Christ.* ii. 430-433.

² Otherwise called Gaianus, Kayānūs in Severus, p. [192].

tumults, riots, bloodshed. So Theodosius went to Constantinople to ask for help. Here he was warmly welcomed by the Empress Theodora, who was herself a Monophysite (p. 200). But, although he belonged to the more moderate (and less logical) party, he would not accept Chalcedon. The Government of Justinian insisted on this ; so he was kept near the capital in exile. Meanwhile, in Egypt the two factions, his and that of Gainas, tore each other. In 539, Justinian, by the advice of the Papal legate, sent a monk Paul to be Patriarch of Alexandria. Paul (539-541) was a Catholic, the first since John Talaia (p. 194). As a Melkite he had all the natives against him. Theodosius wrote letters to them exhorting them to resist the usurper and to remain faithful to himself. Paul fell foul of the Government, and perhaps became himself a heretic.¹ He was deposed and banished ; Zoilus (542-550) was made (Melkite) Patriarch in his place. The quarrel of the Three Chapters (pp. 202-205) now begins. Zoilus had signed their condemnation. Then he retracted and was deposed. Apollinaris (550-568) was intruded in his place. During the reign of the Melkite Apollinaris his Coptic rival Theodosius died (567). Apollinaris thought the schism was over, and gave a banquet in his delight.² On the contrary, from now the rival lines of Coptic and Melkite Patriarchs are established ; they were destined to last to our own day.

For a time there were two Monophysite claimants ; the followers of Theodosius and Gainas each had a successor to their Patriarch. When Gainas died the two parties agreed to elect one Patriarch for both. They chose Dorotheus. But he went over to the Gainites altogether,³ so the Theodosians withdrew their obedience from him and chose one John, who soon disappeared. Then they chose Peter. The Gainites now become a small further schism, which eventually died out.⁴ The claimant of the Theodosians, Peter III (567-570), was consecrated by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (Paul I, c. 549-578). He and his

¹ So Lequien : *Or. Christ.* ii. 435.

² Severus of Al-Ushmunain, p. [206].

³ It will be remembered that there was a theological difference between the two parties. The Gainites were the Aphthartolatrai, the Theodosians Phthartolatrai (p. 207).

⁴ They had a bishop as late as 700 (*Or. Christ.* ii. 454).

successors are the line of Coptic Patriarchs, acknowledged by the great mass of Egyptian Christians, which still exists.

So at last, after all this confusion, we come to a fairly clear parting of the ways. Apollinaris and his successors are the Melkite Patriarchs, Peter III and his form the Coptic line. Here we are concerned with the Copts. A few words will be enough with which to dismiss the Melkites, before we come back to our main subject.

Apollinaris was succeeded by John I (568-579); then came Eulogius (579-607), the friend and correspondent of Pope St. Gregory I (590-604); then Theodore (607-609) and John II, surnamed the Almoner (609-620). George (621-630) followed; then Cyrus (630-642), who accepted Monotheletism and by it won over many Monophysites to a false union (p. 210). During his time came the Arab conquest (639). He was succeeded by Peter II (643-c. 655), also a Monothelete, who, finding all Egypt in the hands of the Arabs, and the Copts recognized by the new masters as the Christianity of the country, went back to Constantinople and stayed there, thus setting an example of non-residence which was to be followed by many of his successors. After the death of Peter II the Melkite see was vacant for over seventy years. It was again filled by Cosmas I in 727 (to about 775). This line then continues, with various interruptions, till now. The Melkite Patriarchs shared in the schism of Photius and Cerularius; in the 13th century they adopted the Byzantine rite; they became more and more Byzantinized, Greeks ruling over a little flock in the midst of the hostile Copts. After the Moslem conquest, for long periods, finding they had little to do in Egypt, they went to reside at Constantinople. Mere servants of the Byzantine Patriarch, generally nominated by him, they added to the splendour of his court their Patriarchal vestments and empty title.¹ When they were in Egypt these Orthodox Patriarchs lived at Cairo, like their Coptic rivals. Their history belongs to that of the

¹ An obvious parallel is the case of the Latin Patriarchs and bishops set up in the East by the Crusaders. When all the Crusaders' lands were lost, when there were practically no more Latin communities in the Levant, these came to Rome and carried on merely titular lines as ornaments of the Papal Court.

Orthodox Church.¹ Their little flock has now only four non-resident suffragans,² and is governed by the Lord Photios, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria. This line of Patriarchs no longer concerns us—except that incidentally we shall hear of the Melkites during their frequent quarrels with the Copts.

Turning to the Coptic line, we come back to Peter III (567–570). He was succeeded by Damian (570–c. 603); then followed Anastasius (603–614). A schism had arisen between the Copts and their Monophysite brethren, the Jacobites of Syria, during the time of Damian.³ Anastasius of Alexandria was able to heal this. The victories of Chosroes II of Persia (590–628; see p. 90) had begun. In 614 he captured Damascus and overran Syria; in 615 he took Jerusalem and carried away the relic of the Cross. The Jacobite Patriarch Athanasius (p. 334) fled before him and came to Egypt. Here he was reconciled with Anastasius. He was received with great honour and pomp, and communicated with his Coptic brother. But Sophronius of Jerusalem, who was orthodox, curses both, and their union.⁴

During all this time, till the Moslem conquest, the Melkites, although so small a party, naturally enjoyed the favour of the Byzantine Government. They held the chief churches and the old Patriarchal palace. The Melkite Patriarch was generally made Imperial commissioner for Egypt; so he had supreme political authority in the land. But Melkite power was practically confined to the Hellenized cities of Lower Egypt, chiefly to Alexandria. Upper Egypt, the Thebais and the desert, with its crowd of monks, was all Monophysite. The Coptic Patriarchs, driven out of Alexandria by their rivals, lived for the most part in the monasteries of Upper Egypt. However, some of them were able to stay in Alexandria. In 616 the Persians invaded Egypt. John the Almoner (the Melkite Patriarch) fled to Cyprus; the Coptic throne was occupied by Andronicus (614–620). The enemy held Egypt till the treaty of 628, when Heraclius' victories compelled him to withdraw his troops. During these twelve

¹ See *Orthodox Eastern Church*, pp. 285–286.

² *Ib.* 285.

³ For the frequent schisms which interrupted the normally friendly relations between the Monophysites of Egypt and Syria, see below, pp. 333–335.

⁴ Ep. Synodica ad Sergium Const. (P.G. lxxxvii. part 3, 3193A).

years the Copts felt the weight of that same arm which was crushing their old opponents the Nestorians. Chosroes II was a bitter persecutor of all Christians. Churches were destroyed, monks massacred, nuns ravished. These years of Persian oppression were a bitter foretaste of the long Moslem persecution, now soon to begin. When the Persians withdrew, the Copts were again able to elect a Patriarch. They chose a monk Benjamin (620-659). In his time occurred the union of many Copts to the Orthodox, achieved by the Melkite Patriarch Cyrus, on the basis of Monotheletism (p. 210). Benjamin, as a staunch Monophysite, refused to accept the Monothelete compromise and fled to Upper Egypt. "For Heraclius the misbeliever had charged them (his soldiers), saying: 'If anyone says that the Council of Chalcedon is true, let him go; but drown in the sea those that say it is erroneous and false.' . . . Then Heraclius appointed bishops throughout the land of Egypt, as far as the city of Antinoe, and tried the inhabitants of Egypt with hard trials, and like a ravening wolf devoured the reasonable flock, and was not satiated. And this blessed people who were thus persecuted were the Theodosians." ¹ Then in 639 came the victorious Arabs.

2. The Arab Conquest of Egypt (639)

That the True Believers, in the first impulse of their victorious career, swept irresistibly over Persia, Syria and Egypt is well known. During the first century or so after the Prophet's death (632) no one could withstand them. They crushed every army sent by the Emperor or the Great King, made all Persia Moslem, and tore from the empire its richest provinces. In December 639 'Amr,² fresh from the conquest of Syria, invaded Egypt. He overran the whole country, defeated the Romans in three pitched battles, besieged and took the city Babylon, on the right bank of the Nile, in 640, and Alexandria in 641. By the winter of 641-642 Egypt was part of the Khalif's domain, the army of 'Amr was

¹ *Hist. of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (ed. B. Evetts), pp. [227-228].

² Abū 'Abdillāh, 'Amru-bnu-l-'Aṣi-bni Wā'ili-ssahmi, of a noble family of the Quraysh, was converted to Islam soon after Mohammed took Mekkah. He was the conqueror of Syria and Egypt.

employed to restore order, garrison the towns and arrange the usual Moslem terms of submission for the native Christians. It is commonly said that the Copts, hating the Roman Government and the Melkites, helped the Arab conquerors. Their Patriarch Benjamin, then in exile, is said to have sent a message to his people urging them to submit peaceably to 'Amr. The Arab historians tell of a certain Christian, Al-Muḩauḩis, who betrayed the land to them.¹ This person justly incurs the scorn of all Christians, as the arch-traitor to his faith and fatherland. But there is some doubt as to who he may be. Muḩauḩis is clearly the transliteration of a Greek title.² He is often said to be no other than the Coptic Patriarch, Benjamin. Mr. A. J. Butler, on the other hand, defends a view exactly opposite to this. He maintains that the Copts were bitterly hostile to the Moslems, that Al-Muḩauḩis is the Melkite Patriarch, Cyrus.³ Considering the extreme improbability of this (since the Melkites were just the Government party, the Copts always hostile to the empire), and that the Moslems at first favoured the Copts and persecuted the Melkites, his view is difficult to accept.⁴

'Amr made Fustāṭ ("the Camp," where his army had lain during the siege of Babylon) his capital. Alexandria from now becomes a city of secondary importance. Egypt was ruled by a governor under the Khalif. When the Moslems became masters of the land they found it inhabited almost entirely by the Monophysite Copts, with a small handful of Melkites. Al-Maḩrīzī, who now becomes a chief authority, says: "When the Moslems entered Egypt it was filled with Christians, who were divided into two separate parts by descent and religion. One part, the governing body, consisted only of Romans from the army of the

¹ See S. Lane-Poole: *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (Methuen, 1901), pp. 6-7.

² *μεγαυχης*, "glorious."

³ *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 508-526.

⁴ AlMakīn (*ib.* 511): "Al-Muḩauḩis was Governor of Egypt in the name of Heraḩl. He and the chiefs of the Copts met together and made peace with 'Amr, son of 'Āṣi, on the terms that they should pay tribute." J. Karabacek has written a monograph on this person, using newly found Egyptian documents (*Der Mokaukis von Aegypten*, in the *Mittheilungen* from Archduke Rainer's papyri, pt. 1). According to him George Megauches was a Copt, Imperial governor for taxes (Pagarch) in Lower Egypt.

master of Constantinople, the King¹ of Rome, whose opinions were those of the Melkites, whose number was about 300,000. The other part, consisting of the great mass of the people of Egypt, called Copts, was a mixed race, so that it is no longer possible to distinguish whether any one of them be of Coptic, Abyssinian, Nubian or Jewish descent. All these were Jacobites [he means Monophysites]; some of them were in Government offices,² others were tradesmen and merchants, others bishops, priests and such-like, others farmers and tillers of the soil, others servants and slaves. Between these and the Melkites, people of the State,³ was so great enmity that they hurt each other by betrayals, and even mutual murders took place. Their number⁴ was several hundred thousand,⁵ for they were properly the people of the land of Egypt, of its upper part and of its lower part."⁶ He tells us further: "The Copts sought to make peace with 'Amr on the condition of paying tribute; and he granted this, confirmed their possession of lands and other property, and they helped the Moslems against the Romans till God drove these in flight and expelled them from Egypt."⁷

The immediate result of the Moslem conquest was to secure for the Copts the position of recognized Christians in Egypt. They had long been persecuted by the Melkites. Now the position was reversed. The conquerors found them the vast majority and preferred them, as being already enemies of the Roman Empire. So they gave them every advantage over the Melkites. The Copts got back many churches out of which they had been driven; their Patriarch could now reside openly at Alexandria, or where he would. The Melkites for a time almost disappear. They are the avowed enemies of the new Government, and are trodden down, almost stamped out. Many of them flee to lands still held by the Emperor, some turn Moslem, some turn Copt. It is the darkest hour of the Orthodox Church in Egypt. We have seen that at this time, after the death of Peter II (c. 655), the Melkite Patriarchate was left vacant for more than seventy years (p. 221).

¹ Malik ar-rûm. They always call the Emperor *Malik*.

² *Kuttâb al-mamlakah*, "writers of the kingdom."

³ *Ahl ad-Daulah*.

⁴ Of Copts.

⁵ He might say millions.

⁶ Al-Maḥrizī: *Aḥbār ḥibī miṣr* (ed. cit. p. 20 of the Arabic text).

⁷ *Ib.* p. 21.

It is not till long afterwards, when all have settled down under the Moslem tyrant, that the Melkites reappear as a small rayah in Egypt, and reclaim their property and rights.

The Copts then obtain the usual terms of *rayahs* or *dimmis* under Moslem rule. At first their condition was not altogether hopeless. They may not serve in the army ; they must pay the heavy poll-tax. They may restore their existing churches, not build new ones. Their churches may have no external Christian sign (such as a cross) ; nor may they ring bells.¹ They may not ride a horse nor bear weapons. It is death to convert a Moslem, to speak against Islam, to seduce a Moslem woman. It is death for a Copt who has once accepted Islam to return to the faith of his fathers. The word or oath of a Copt may not be taken in a law-court against that of a Moslem. It is death to rebel or to traffic with any foreign power against their masters. But, if they keep all these conditions, they are to be let alone and not persecuted because of their faith. They are not to be forced to apostatize ; even a Christian woman married to a Moslem is to be allowed to practise her own religion. They become a subject " nation (*millah*) " in the usual Moslem sense.² The civil head of this nation was the Coptic Patriarch. He was, of course, himself subject to the Moslem governor ; but, within the limits the conqueror allowed him, he had considerable power over his people, even in civil matters. Questions of wills, marriages, even of property, were settled by his courts. Any Copt at any moment could shake off the Patriarch's authority and join the ruling class by professing Islam. But for those who would not do so there was considerable internal self-government within their own nation. The Patriarch had rights of first-fruits of benefices and of tithes, which were enforced by the Government.

¹ The Prophet, and after him his True Believers, hated bells.

² The Moslem Governments (Arab and Turk) always count a man's " nation " by his religion. Each religious body becomes a *millah*, with its own administration, in civil affairs too. If you profess the Monophysite faith in Egypt, you belong to the Coptic *millah*. The Moslems would force a man to obey the regulations of his own " nation " ; it was (till quite lately) almost impossible to pass from one religious society to another, to become a Catholic if you had been Orthodox, for instance. The Orthodox bishop could and did force you to continue to obey him. All through the history of Arab and Turkish government this difficulty recurs.

However, all this represents the very best the Copts could expect. At intervals under a humane governor they enjoyed so much of contemptuous toleration ; but we must remember that all the time they were utterly at the mercy of an alien power, which hated and despised them. Egypt under Moslem rule had even for a Moslem state an exceptionally large proportion of fiendish lunatics as governors. Such men always, besides behaving abominably to their own co-religionists, begin torturing, persecuting, massacring the helpless Christians. Even a good governor often acquired conscientious scruples about leaving unbelievers in peace. So the story of the Copts under Moslem rule, in spite of interludes, is really one long and sickening account of horrible persecution. During this time enormous numbers apostatized. That is not surprising. It was so easy, during a general massacre of Christians, to escape torture and death by professing Islam. Then it was death to go back. The wonder is rather that any Copts at all kept the faith during these hideous centuries.

When there was no actual persecution, Copts were able to serve their masters in many ways because of their superior civilization. One of the commonest professions for a Copt was to be writer (*kātib*, secretary) to the Moslem governor of some province. The Coptic *kātib* became a recognized institution ; even now in Egyptian books and plays he appears, generally as a comic character, an ingenious rascal, whose astuteness is finally defeated by True Believing honesty. Meanwhile the Coptic language slowly died out. When the Arabs came all Egypt talked Coptic, except a handful of Greek Melkites. Coptic is the direct descendant, or later form, of the old Egyptian language of the hieroglyphs.¹ The Arabs brought their own totally different Semitic speech to Egypt. This became the language of the governing class ; Copts had to acquire it, in order to talk to their masters ; so very slowly their own language disappeared. It did not disappear altogether till the 17th century. Now it exists only as their liturgical language (p. 274). All Copts talk Arabic.

¹ As a matter of fact, interest in Coptic and its study among Europeans is chiefly due to its usefulness in deciphering the hieroglyphs. The pronunciation of many words represented by ideograms is made conjecturally from Coptic.

3. Under the Sunni Khalifs (639-969)

We have seen that, at the moment of the Moslem conquest, the Coptic Patriarch Benjamin I had fled (p. 223). The last act of the Roman power in Egypt was a great attempt to force reunion on the Monophysites on the lines of Monotheletism (p. 223). Benjamin was a consistent Monophysite, and resisted this compromise on his side as thoroughly as Catholics did from theirs.¹ He fled to the usual refuge of his sect, Upper Egypt, where everyone was Monophysite, where the Melkites could not get at him. One of the first things 'Amr did after the conquest was to send a letter to Benjamin, a safe-conduct with assurance of his protection.² This is the first *barā'ah* (*berat*) given by a Moslem governor to a bishop in Egypt. It is tragically characteristic that the immediate result of the Moslem conquest should be to free a Christian bishop from the persecution he had suffered from a Christian Government. Benjamin came out of hiding, after thirteen years, saw 'Amr, accepted the usual humiliating conditions offered to him and his flock, and established himself at Alexandria. The Copts then obtained possession of all churches formerly held by Melkites.³

Now for over two centuries Egypt was a province of the vast, still united Moslem Empire, whose head was the Khalif at Damascus.⁴ It was ruled by a governor (the Amīr of Egypt) who could be removed, imprisoned, slain at the Khalif's pleasure, but who meanwhile was an absolute tyrant over all the land, who (as long as he sent sufficient revenue to Damascus) was not likely to be disturbed, and could do much as he liked. 'Amr was considered not to have sent enough money to his master, so he

¹ This is the result of all these compromises. Zeno's Henotikon, the condemnation of the Three Chapters, Monotheletism, and the other attempts of the same kind naturally found some time-servers who agreed to whatever the Emperor asked. But they were equally obnoxious to conscientious Monophysites and to conscientious Catholics. The Monophysites would be content with nothing less than the total repeal of Chalcedon; Catholics would not allow anything less than its complete acceptance. Between these no compromise was really possible.

² AlMaḳrīzī (German translation, p. 51).

³ *Ib.*

⁴ The sixth Khalif Mu'āwiyah (661-680) made Damascus his seat. It remained the capital till his dynasty fell in 749. The Khalifs of the house of 'Abbās (749-1258) lived first at Kūfah, then at Bagdad.

was given a lower place ; 'Abdullah ibn Sa'd was made Amīr of all Egypt.¹ The new governor conquered Nubia and gave the Christians of that land a document of protection, with conditions, which is a good specimen of the terms Moslems gave to Christian *dimmis*.²

The Patriarch Benjamin died in 639, and was succeeded by Agatho (659-677). He converted many Gainites (p. 220) to normal Monophysism, and rebuilt the great church of St. Mark at Alexandria.³ Then came John III (677-686). 'Abdu-l-'Azīz suddenly demanded a hundred thousand pieces of gold from him, and burned his feet with hot coals till he paid all he could raise—ten thousand pieces.⁴

There is no object in naming all the Coptic Patriarchs who succeeded to this ill-fated throne, who, one after another, bore torture and disgrace to make them pay enormous sums, claimed without the shadow of an excuse by the tyrant. A few specimens of the way the Copts were treated during this dreadful time will be enough. Persecution was always latent, constantly broke out. In the time of Isaac (686-689) a deputation came from "India" asking him to ordain a bishop for that land.⁵ This is interesting, as being, apparently, the first relation between the Malabar Christians and Monophysites (see p. 360). Alexander II (703-726) was twice branded with hot irons and was mulcted of six thousand pieces of gold.⁶ At this time there was a fearful persecution. 'Abdu-l-'Azīz had a census of all monks made, imposed a special tax on them, and forbade anyone in future to become a monk. The Khalif 'Abdu-l-Malik (692-705) made his own son 'Abdullah governor of Egypt. 'Abdullah levied enormous taxes on all Christians, which he then doubled and trebled. He despoiled and ruined churches, branded strangers on the face or hand. Enormous numbers of Copts died of starvation. His successor, Kurrah ibn Sharik, continued the same extortions. These two "brought on Christians evils such as they had never before suffered."⁷ Under Kurrah a great number of Copts tried to

¹ S. Lane-Poole : *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 20.

² Quoted *ib.* 21-23.

³ AlMaḡrizī, p. 52.

⁴ *Hist. of the Patr. of Alex.* pp. [268-269].

⁵ AlMaḡrizī, p. 53.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ *Ib.*

escape their misfortunes by flight ; so he sent soldiers to watch the harbours and kill all who tried to escape. Then, goaded to despair, some of them rose in open rebellion. This was put down and a great number were killed.¹ A law was made that every monk should bear an iron fetter round his wrist, marked with his name and that of his monastery ; whoever was found without this fetter had his hand cut off.² 'Usāmah ibn Zaid at-tanūḥi "upset the monasteries and caught a great number of monks without their mark. Of these some were beheaded ; the others were scourged till they died. Hereupon churches were destroyed, crosses broken, and the idols, of which many were found, all smashed." ³ Hishām ibn 'Abdi-lMalik (Khalif, 724-743), who ruled over the united Moslem Empire at the time of its greatest extent, meant to be tolerant and sent orders to Egypt that Christians there were to be treated fairly, according to the law for *ḍimmis*. But the Amīr Ḥanṣalah ibn Ṣafwān, in spite of this, carried on a cruel persecution. He increased the poll-tax on Christians, made them all carry a mark stamped with the figure of a lion, and had the hand of everyone cut off who was found without it.⁴ There was another rebellion followed by a massacre. A bishop, who was seized and commanded to pay a thousand pieces of gold, was hung up at the door of a church and scourged almost to death, till his friends collected three hundred pieces.⁵ This was a favourite method of raising money, used by needy governors throughout this period. A perfectly inoffensive bishop or Patriarch was suddenly seized and some quite impossible amount of money demanded of him. He naturally protested that he had not a tenth part of what was asked. He was told that his friends must raise it. Meanwhile he was kept in prison, scourged and tortured till as much as the sight of his anguish could procure from his people was raised ; and by this he was ransomed.

Under the Khalif Marwān II (744-750), a savage tyrant who particularly hated Christians, the persecution became still fiercer. A number of Coptic nuns were torn from their convents and handed over to the soldiers. Maḳrīzī tells a curious story of one of these nuns who by a trick saved her honour at the price of her

¹ AlMaḳrīzī, p. 55.² *Ib.*³ *Ib.* 55-56.⁴ *Ib.* p. 56 ; *Hist. of the Patr.* p. [329].⁵ *Ib.* pp. [332-333].

life. She told her captor that she had a wonderful oil which made her invulnerable. Having aroused his curiosity about this oil, she undertook to show him its power. She anointed her neck and told him to strike with his sword. He did so and beheaded her. So she died (allowing for her mistaken conscience) a martyr.¹ The Coptic Patriarch Michael I (Hail, 743-766) spent a part of his reign in prison.

So far the Melkites have almost disappeared. Their see was vacant since the death of Peter II (654). The Moslems during this time acknowledged only the Copts as the Christian *dimmis* of Egypt. In spite of the fierce persecution which they themselves suffered, the Coptic Patriarchs used the help of the infidel Government to force all other Christians in the land to acknowledge their authority and to enter their communion. So we have the curious spectacle of these suffering Copts in their turn worrying Melkites and Gainites.

But the little Melkite community was never quite extinct. Now, in 727, they elected a certain needle-maker, Cosmas, to be their Patriarch (727-c. 775). Cosmas and his friends succeeded in obtaining recognition as a "nation" from the Amīr. Some at least of their churches were given back to them; so from now the Melkites have a fairly regular succession and reappear as a small group of *dimmis*, by the side of the Copts. But the persecution of all Christians went on. Maḡrīzī continues his woeful tale of massacre, famine, scourging, forced tribute. At times Christians are reduced to eating corpses; ² there are spasmodic attempts at insurrection followed by ghastly general massacres.

During the reign of the Coptic Patriarch Michael I, one of the schisms occurred which frequently interrupt the generally friendly relations between the Monophysites of Egypt and Syria. The Jacobite see of Antioch was occupied, in defiance of the canons, by Isaac, Bishop of Ḥaran, in 754. The Copts refused to acknowledge him, and broke communion with the Jacobites. It was not restored till some time after Isaac's death (see p. 334). We have now a sufficient idea of the state of the Copts under Moslem rule. It is not necessary to continue the tedious story in detail. It is always the same wearisome series of ill-usage of all kinds.

¹ Al-Maḡrīzī, p. 57.

² *Ib.* p. 57.

One Patriarch succeeds another ; one after another has to pay extortionate bribes. Imprisonment, scourging, massacre go on in sickening uniformity.¹

4. The Fatimids (969-1171)

In the 10th century a great revolution took place in Egypt, after which the country for two centuries accepted a different form of Islam as State religion, breaking all dependence on the Khalif at Bagdad. For a long time a party among Moslems had secretly maintained the hereditary principle, holding that the lawful head of Islam should be a descendant of Mohammed, through his daughter Fāṭimah and his son-in-law 'Ali ibn 'Abi-Ṭālib. These are the Shi'ah Moslems.² They would not acknowledge the Khalifs of the Ommeyyad house at Damascus, nor their successors (since 749) the Abbasid Khalifs at Bagdad. Instead they venerated a line of Imāms (Chiefs) beginning with 'Ali, his two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain, Ḥusain's son, and so on, by hereditary descent to Mohammed Abū-l-Kāsim, the 12th Imām, who disappeared in the 9th century of our reckoning. The Shi'ah faith teaches that he is not dead. He lives hidden somewhere and will one day return as the Imām Mahdi, to reward his faithful and punish the wicked.³ Especially under the Abbasid Khalifs did the Shi'ah make secret propaganda. One of their missionaries came in 893 to Western Africa (the Muḡrib, Morocco) and there proclaimed one 'Ubaidullah as the true Khalif. This 'Ubaidullah professed to be of the blood of the Prophet, through Fāṭimah. He begins the line of Fatimid Khalifs.⁴ A large army was rapidly

¹ AlMaḡrīzī gives details, pp. 58-81.

² Shi'ah, "a following" (collective). They now form the official religion of Persia.

³ This is the normal Shi'ah faith, held by most, and now the official form in Persia. A sect of Shi'ah, however (the Ismā'īliyah), acknowledge only seven Imāms. There are other schisms among them, which turn on the question of the succession of the Imām. The best short account of Shi'ah I know is in I. Goldziher : *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 208-230.

⁴ 'Ubaidullah is variously represented as being the brother of the 12th Imām, or the son of a hidden Imām recognised by the Ismā'īliyah, or in other ways descended from Fāṭimah. There is considerable doubt as to who he was really. His opponents said he was a Jewish impostor.

gathered together. In 969 'Ubaidullah was proclaimed in Kairawān ; he and his descendants soon held all Africa, except Egypt. The fourth Khalif of the Fatimid line, Al-Mu'izz (953-975), invaded Egypt in 969. He easily conquered the country. Then he built Cairo¹ north of the old city Fustāt (p. 224) to be his capital. Cairo has been the political centre of Egypt ever since. The Shi'ah form of Islam was imposed on all Egyptian Moslems ; the name of the Abbasid Khalif at Bagdad was banished, in all mosques prayers were said for Al-Mu'izz as lawful Khalif. The black standards and hangings of the Abbasids were replaced by white, the Fatimid colour. Al-Mu'izz was recognized in the holy cities (Mecca and Medina) and in Syria. So the empire of the Abbasids was reduced for a time to Mesopotamia ; this Fatimid invasion struck a blow at their declining power from which it never altogether recovered.

The Fatimids reigned in Egypt about two centuries (till 1171).² Their power abroad declined rapidly. Soon they lost all West Africa, which returned to the nominal allegiance of the Abbasids. The Abbasids were also able to send armies to Syria,³ so that there was continual fighting there. But Mecca and Medina (the Ḥiǧāz) for a long time acknowledged the Fatimid Khalifs at Cairo. In Egypt they reigned as foreign conquerors supported by foreign mercenaries. The old vigour of the Arabs had now declined. Both rival Khalifs held their thrones supported by foreigners converted to Islam, who were bought as slaves or enlisted as a bodyguard. From the 11th century the Selǧūk Turks appear on the scene. Enlisted at first at Bagdad as a guard, they soon become the real masters of the feeble Khalif. In 1055 their chief Ṭuǧril Beg is acknowledged and prayed for as Amīr and lieutenant of the Khalif. This means his master. Till the final destruction of the Khalifate of Bagdad (by Hulagu Khan the Mongol in 1258 ;

¹ Al-Kāhirah, "the victorious." The city was first called : alMu'izziyat alkāhirah, the victorious (city) of Mu'izz.

² For their names and dates, see S. Lane-Poole : *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 116.

³ Armies of new tribes, Turks and Kurds, who were converted to Sunni Islam. The war between the Abbasids and Fatimids was (like nearly all Moslem warfare) a religious one. All Sunnis acknowledged the Abbasids, and fought for them ; the Shi'ah were for the Fatimids.

see p. 97) the Selgûk Turks nominate and depose Khalifs as they please. In Egypt, too, Turks and Berbers are employed to guard the Fatimid's throne. From this time the Turkish guard play a great part in Egyptian history.

Under the Fatimids the Christians enjoyed on the whole rather more toleration than before. But their condition was still wretched, they were no less subject to outbursts of frightful persecution. Al-'Azîz (975-996), son and successor of Al-Mu'izz, was a good ruler, specially tolerant to his Christian subjects. He had a Christian wife ; he made her two brothers Melkite Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem.¹ The Coptic Patriarch Ephraim (977-980) was a favourite at court ; he obtained leave to rebuild the church of St. Mercurius (Abū-sSaifain) by Fustāṭ. Ephraim was a zealous bishop, and took steps to put down the simony and concubinage which were then rampant among his clergy.

After Al-'Azîz followed his son, the fiendish lunatic Al-Ḥākim ² (996-1021). This man has left the reputation of being the most appalling tyrant who ever sat on even a Moslem throne. He became quite mad, and persecuted his Moslem subjects almost as cruelly as the Christians. His mad laws and examples of his ghastly cruelty may be read in Stanley Lane-Poole.³ To Christians, both Copts and Orthodox, his reign marks the height of their long persecution. He is said to have been excited against them by a disappointed Coptic monk who had wanted to become a bishop.⁴ Moreover, till he declared himself a god, he was a fanatical Moslem. Under him degrading laws about dress, which occur earlier, are enforced relentlessly. First he made them wear yellow stripes on their clothes ; then they were to dress entirely in black. Christian men had to carry a heavy wooden cross around their necks ; they were not to ride a horse, their asses must have black trappings. They could possess no slaves, were not to be rowed by Moslem boatmen, must dismount whenever they met a Moslem. Then Ḥākim began to destroy all churches, or to turn

¹ S. Lane-Poole : *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 119.

² AlMaṣṣūr Abū-'Alī AlḤākim bi'amrillāh. He was the son of Al-'Azîz' Christian wife !

³ *Hist. of Egypt*, pp. 123-134. See also S. de Sacy : *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* (Paris, 1838).

⁴ Renaudot : *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 388.

them into mosques. The Moslem *adān* ¹ was cried from the great church at Cairo. He plundered monasteries, murdered bishops, massacred monks. Enormous numbers of Copts apostatized to escape persecution. Of the faithful who, in spite of all, clung to their faith, Maḳrīzī says: "troubles came upon them such as they had never yet borne." ² Maḳrīzī calculates the number of churches destroyed by Ḥākim as over 1030. ³ During this reign Christian services practically stopped in Egypt. At the end of his life he became slightly more tolerant towards Christians. He offended Moslems irreconcilably by declaring that he was an incarnation of God; and he was murdered by them in 1021. The end of this monster is that he is still worshipped by the astonishing sect of the Druzes in the Lebanon. During Ḥākim's reign the Coptic Patriarch was Zachary (1004-1032), who managed to escape with his life during the persecution. Ḥākim was succeeded by his son Aḍ-Ḍāhir (1021-1036), who reigned justly and mercifully. Shenut II ⁴ (1032-1047) became Patriarch of the Copts. The custom had arisen of paying a large sum to the clergy of Alexandria who elected the Patriarch. He also had to pay a bribe to the Khalif. The Patriarchs refunded themselves by selling bishoprics to the highest bidder. Simony is the constant vice of the Coptic Church. It forms a main subject of complaint in nearly all Coptic synods. Shenut II was a specially bad offender. He not only sold holy orders openly, but he made a synod to declare this practice lawful. After him came Christodulos ⁵ (1047-1077). He published a code of thirty-one canons, which hold an important place in Coptic canon law. For instance: marriage is forbidden in Lent, baptism and funerals on Good Friday; no foreigner may hold any benefice in the Coptic Church; Wednes-

¹ The call to prayer.

² AlMaḳrīzī: *op. cit.* 63-65. The Jews were no less cruelly persecuted. They had to ring a bell wherever they went, and to wear a wooden calf's head, in memory of their adoration of a golden calf under Moses. Moslems have nearly always persecuted Jews even more cruelly than Christians.

³ *Ib.* 56.

⁴ This name often occurs among Copts. In Coptic it is Shenūt (see A. J. Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, i. p. 352, n. 2). In Arabic it becomes Shanūdah; Maḳrīzī writes Sanutir (*op. cit.* Arabic text, p. 27). In Latin it is Sanutius.

⁵ In Arabic 'Abdu-lMasīḥ ("Servant of Christ").

days and Fridays are fast-days ; Holy Communion must be given to every child (except in case of impossibility) immediately after baptism ; marriage with a Melkite is invalid, unless performed by a Coptic priest.¹ It was under Christodulos that the story of the martyr Nekam occurred. Nekam was a young Copt who apostatized to Islam. Then he repented, returned to the faith of Christ, refused to hide himself, or to accept a chance of life by pretending to be mad ; and boldly bore the death (by beheading) which was the fate of everyone who renounced Islam for Christianity.² This story is typical of many others which honour the sect during the long ages of its oppression.

Christodulos established himself permanently at Cairo. He made the churches of St. Mercurius³ outside Fuṣṭāṭ and of the Blessed Virgin, in the "Greek Street" (arRūm) at Cairo, his Patriarchal churches. From his time the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria has resided at Cairo. His successor is said to have fixed the Patriarch's dress—blue silk for ordinary wear, red silk embroidered with gold for festal occasions.⁴ We may leave Christodulos with an edifying anecdote about him. As part of the spasmodic persecution which fills Coptic history he was once thrown into prison till he had paid a fine. At the same time the Government in a fit of zeal erased the inscription : " In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, one God " ⁵ over the door of his house. The Patriarch had to let them do so ; but he said : " You cannot erase the words from my heart " ⁶—which is the attitude of the Copts during their centuries of persecution. Under Christodulos' successor, Cyril II (1078-1092), a great number of Armenians settled in Egypt. The Khalif

¹ More of Christodulos' canons will be found quoted in Neale : *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, ii. 213-214.

² Neale : *op. cit.* ii. 215-216.

³ Called Abū-sSaifain ("father of the two swords") in Arabic, because he is represented as brandishing a sword in either hand. The monastery and church of Abū-sSaifain is one of the most important of Coptic buildings. It is described at length in Butler : *Ancient Coptic Churches*, i. pp. 75-154. The legend of St. Mercurius will be found *ib.* ii. 357-360.

⁴ Makrizi, *ed. cit.* 66-67.

⁵ Arab-speaking Christians use this formula (*bismi-lāb walībīn warrūḥi-lḥudus allāhi-lwāḥid*) constantly, as their equivalent to the Moslem : " In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate."

⁶ S. Lane-Poole : *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 144.

Al-Mustanşir (1036–1094) made an Armenian, Badr alĠamālī (probably a Christian, at least in secret), his Wazīr. Badr governed the land wisely and well for twenty-two years (1073–1094). Many of his fellow-countrymen came to Egypt. Although the Armenians have always held rather aloof from other Monophysites (see p. 414), there is no particular reason why they should do so. They agree practically in faith with the others. An Armenian bishop Gregory, one of the many claimants to their Patriarchate, came to Egypt; he and the Coptic Patriarch found that their faiths agreed, so they joined in communion with one another; Cyril II was able to proclaim this union as a triumph for Monophysism. Since then there have been various lines of Armenian bishops in Egypt, who kept irregularly friendly relations with the Copts. It is specially mentioned of this Cyril that he took pains to learn Arabic—a sign of the gradual dying out of the Coptic language.

During the time of Cyril's successor, Michael IV (1092–1102), occurred the first Crusade. It was preached at the Council of Clermont in 1096; the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099. Since we are so much concerned with Moslem cruelty towards Christians, we must not forget on the other side the ghastly massacre of Moslems by which the Christians began their reign in the Holy City.¹ The episode of the Crusades now fills the history of the Levant for two centuries, till the last possession of the Christians (Acre) fell in 1292. From several points of view the Crusades affect our story. The Crusaders were fighting against both Khalifs—of Cairo and Bagdad. The Fatimids in the eleventh century held Syria, but were constantly attacked and driven out of cities by Sunni Turks, who fought for the Abbasid Khalif at Bagdad. This disunion among the Moslems was the great opportunity of the Crusaders.² Then when Saladin overturned the Fatimids and ruled Egypt and Syria under the Abbasid, the Crusaders turned their arms against Egypt. The Crusades further brought the Eastern schismatical Churches into relation

¹ They murdered seventy thousand Moslems when they took Jerusalem.

² As a matter of fact, the Crusaders, without knowing it, chose the very best moment possible for their attack. Instead of meeting a strong, united Moslem power, they found two Moslem forces at war with each other.

with Catholic Latins, for the first time since the original schisms. The relations were not happy. The Latin knights knew very little of the native Christians, except that they were stubborn heretics out of communion with the Pope. So on the whole they ignored them, or even persecuted them. In many cases they took away the churches, which even the Moslem had spared. They set up Latin hierarchies wherever they had the power, and tried to harry the Easterns into reunion. It is a question whether they would not have had more success if they had from the beginning proclaimed themselves champions of all Christians against Islam, if they had left theological issues alone for the time, and had respected the ecclesiastical state of things they found, while stirring up a general insurrection of Christians throughout Palestine and Egypt. There were still enormous numbers of these. On the other hand, the native Christians, accustomed to tremble before their Moslem masters for centuries, showed a capacity for bearing persecution meekly, which did not argue much fighting-power on their part. Perhaps the only result of such an appeal from the Crusaders would have been a general, unresisted massacre of Christians throughout the Moslem States. Another point to remember is that these Eastern Christians were divided among themselves into bitterly hostile sects. It would have been difficult to unite Nestorians, Monophysites and Orthodox, difficult to persuade them that the Latins, whom they all abhorred, were the friends of all. So during the Crusades the Copts, as the other Eastern sects, sit quiet at home and watch the fight between their masters and these strangers. The only results, as far as they are concerned, are an increased tendency to persecute among Moslems¹ and a further complication of the ecclesiastical position by the establishment of Latin Patriarchs and bishops in the East. However, there was eventually one permanent result. In spite of all, the Crusaders were not always

¹ This fell rather on the Orthodox than on the Copts. The Orthodox were, theologically, so much nearer to Latins that they, almost alone, made certain tentative efforts to help them. The Moslems seem always to have had a fairly accurate knowledge of the issues between various Christian sects (alas! the Christians were always carrying their quarrels before Moslem Kādīs); so they knew this, and gave the Orthodox a particularly bad time during the Crusades.

hostile. The priests and bishops they brought with them did some peaceful missionary work among the schismatics. So from the time of the Crusades we date the first beginning of restored relations between the Christian East and West, the first intercourse of friendly letters between the various Eastern Patriarchs and the Pope, and the beginning of Uniate Churches. The Copts made no advances of this kind ; but Nicholas I, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria,¹ corresponded with the Popes Innocent III (1198-1216) in 1210 and Honorius III (1216-1227) in 1223.² His very submissive letters are one of the many examples of attempted reunion, leading up to the formation of Uniate Churches. It was the upheaval of the Crusades which eventually destroyed the Shi'ah Fatimid rule in Egypt, restored the country to Sunni Islam, to a nominal dependence on the Khalif of Bagdad and practical independence under its own Sultan. The man who wrought this revolution was the famous Saladin.

5. Saladin and his Successors (1171-1250)

Almalik annāṣir, Abu-lMuẓaffar, Ṣalāḥu-ddunyā wa-ddīn, Yūsuf ibn Aiyūb,³ called by Europeans Saladin, was a Kurd, son of a chief at Mosul. He was a Sunni Moslem, holding a commission from the Abbasid Khalif. A mighty warrior, on the whole a just ruler, he made his fortune by fighting against the Crusaders, inspired them with great respect for his valour and chivalry, and left his name that of the Moslem hero most famous throughout Europe.⁴ First he asserted the Abbasid authority in Syria ; then for a time he accepted office under Al-'Āḍid (1160-1171), the last Fatimid Khalif in Egypt, causing prayers to be said for both Khalifs in the mosques. In 1171, when Al-'Āḍid died,

¹ His exact dates are unknown. He was reigning in 1210, and in 1223.

² Lequien : *Or. Christ.* ii. 490-491 ; Neale : *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, ii. 278-280.

³ " The victorious king, father of ' Him to whom victory is given ' (AlMuẓaffar, his son's name), Honour of the State and of Religion, Joseph, son of Job." Saladin is for Ṣalāḥu-ddīn (Honour of Religion). The Europeanized form is too well known to be changed.

⁴ See Stanley Lane-Poole : *Saladin*, in the series : *Heroes of the Nations* (Putnam, 1890).

Saladin made Egypt return to the Sunni faith and the obedience of the Abbasid Khalif (Al-Mustazī, 1170-1180). But by now the Abbasids were mere figure-heads politically. They kept their spiritual authority; in the mosques prayers were said for them as Khalifs, successors of Mohammed, vicegerents of God on earth. But practically their once vast state was breaking up into separate kingdoms, ruled by chiefs, who merely went through the formality of securing a commission as Wazīr or Sultan¹ from the Khalif. So Saladin, though acknowledging the spiritual authority of the Abbasid Khalif, in temporal matters was really independent. He founded a dynasty of Sultans of Egypt (the Aiyubids),² which reigned nearly a century (till 1252).³

Although Saladin was so chivalrous and sent such polite messages to his noble enemy, King Richard Lion-heart, he treated his own Christian subjects harshly. From the beginning of Moslem rule in Egypt the conquerors had been obliged to employ the better-educated Copts as writers, secretaries, financiers, doctors, architects, and so on. Throughout their oppression we find Copts holding high places in the Government (p. 227). Saladin tried to stop this. He forbade Christians (and Jews) to hold any public office. He renewed laws against their use of bells or of crosses which could be seen outside. He forbade public processions of Christians, ordered all churches to be painted black, and even tried to stop church singing.

The Patriarch Gabriel II (1131-1146) drew up thirty canons, which are part of Coptic canon law.⁴ Under John V (1146-1164) began a controversy which troubled the Coptic Church for some time. This is the controversy about Confession and Incense.

¹ *Wazīr* (Vizier) originally meant a porter (*wazara*, to carry a burden); then it became the general name for a chief minister, governor of a province, high official. *Sultān* is really an abstract word meaning "power" (*salī'a*, to be hard, to rule). Since about the 11th century (when Turks and other foreigners became powerful) it is given as a title to their chiefs by the Khalif. Its meaning at first was that of a prince under the Khalif; but many Sultans soon became really independent. It might almost be translated "king." The title Sultan was so long associated with the Chief of the Turks that he still keeps it as his usual one, although since the 16th century he claims to be Khalif too. Henceforth we may speak of the Sultan of Egypt.

² Saladin was "the son of Aiyūb (Job)."

³ A list of them will be found in S. Lane-Poole: *Hist. of Egypt*, pp. 212-213.

⁴ Renaudot: *op. cit.* 511-513.

The Copts had inherited from their fathers, like the rest of Christendom, belief in and the practice of sacramental confession. But, as in the case of many Eastern Churches, while the theory remained, the practice gradually became rare. Then began a curious compromise. Most Eastern rites associate the use of incense in the liturgy with a public confession of sin. The idea is fairly obvious. They prayed that as the savour of this incense goes up to God, so may our humble prayer for forgiveness of sins ascend to him, so may he send down on us in return grace and pardon. There is a special reason for this, inasmuch as the incense is burned at the beginning of various services, as a preparation for some solemn act, with the idea of hallowing, purifying the holy place. So is a prayer for forgiveness the natural preparation for such an act.¹ The Coptic liturgy expresses this connection between the offering of incense and confession of sins very plainly.² So, by a curious confusion, there grew up the idea of an inherent connection between incense and forgiveness; the incense was looked upon as a kind of sin-offering, a sacrifice which atoned for sin. Why, then, go through the unpleasant process of confessing to a priest, when the burning incense obtained forgiveness for your sins? So the Copt whose conscience was troubled found a simple way of recovering the grace he had lost. He simply lit a thurible in his own house and confessed to that. Truly the path of salvation is easy; but it cannot be quite as easy as this. The abuse had become common by the 12th century, when a certain priest, Mark Ibn alḲanbar,³ began to preach against it, urging the necessity of absolution by a priest. John V defended the popular abuse and excommunicated Mark. There was strong feeling on both sides; eventually they took the unusual course of appealing to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Michael I (1166-1199).⁴ This is a strange and rare proceeding; since in theory a Patriarch of Alexandria stands above his brother of Antioch. Michael answered ambiguously,

¹ As in the Roman rite the celebrant begins Mass by saying *Confiteor* and *Misereatur*. ² E.g. Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 150, etc.

³ Maḳrīzī: *op. cit.* p. 28 (Arabic text). Barhebræus calls him Marḳus bar Ḳunbar (*ed. cit.* i. 573-575).

⁴ Michael the Great, one of the most famous and important Jacobite Patriarchs (see p. 329).

but on the whole condemned Mark. Mark then turned Orthodox, went back to the Copts, turned Orthodox again, and then wanted to go back to his own people once more. But this time they would not have him back ; he died in obscurity, apparently out of communion with everyone.¹ After his time we hear no more of the absurd abuse he attacked ; so he seems to have accomplished his purpose. But confession among Copts has always been, and is now, a rarely used Sacrament (p. 279). About the same time we hear of controversies about circumcision. All Copts circumcise ; but they argued at length whether this should be done before or after baptism.

During the 13th century the Crusaders repeatedly attacked Egypt. In 1219 they took Damietta ;² but in the same year they were driven back. In 1249 St. Lewis IX of France (1226-1270) invaded Egypt and again seized Damietta. It is well known that then he himself was taken prisoner, ransomed by a heavy sum, and lost all his conquests. From the first siege of Damietta (1219) dates the establishment of a line of Latin Patriarchs of Alexandria, who, however, soon became merely titular.³

Cyril III (Coptic Patriarch, 1235-1243) was one of the worst of his line. He acquired his place by intrigue and bribery, and practised barefaced simony throughout his reign. However, during his time a reforming synod was held and canons were drawn up, which he did not obey, but which form part of the Coptic law. These canons begin by a profession of Monophysism, ordain that a general synod be held every year during the third week after Pentecost, that boys be circumcised before baptism, that a complete collection of canons be drawn up, and so on. The collection of canons was duly made.⁴ At this time a

¹ A very hostile account of Mark Ibn al-Kānbar (accusing him of many strange heresies), by Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta, will be found in Abū Šālīḥ (*ed. cit.* pp. 33-43).

² It was then that St. Francis of Assisi († 1226) came to Egypt, seeking to convert the Sultan (Al-Kāmil Muḥammad, 1218-1238) or to die a martyr's death. He succeeded in neither ; but from his place with God he must rejoice to see his friars for long centuries, and still to-day, the heroic guardians of the Catholic faith throughout the Levant.

³ The list in Lequien : *Oriens Christ.* iii. 1143-1146.

⁴ Renaudot : *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 582-586.

Coptic bishop (of Sandafah) apostatized to Islam. To the eternal credit of the Egyptian Christians, this is, during thirteen centuries of cruel persecution, the only known case of an apostate bishop. Cyril III further made a great quarrel with the Jacobites in Syria by ordaining a bishop for Jerusalem to minister to the Copts ; although a Jacobite bishop already sat there. In spite of Jacobite protests, this arrangement still lasts (p. 335).

During all this time the wearisome recurrence of fierce persecution against Christians continues. There are over and over again incidents of excited mobs massacring Christians, defiling churches, robbing Coptic property. And even when no massacre was going on, the Copts were always subject to the same humiliating laws affecting their dress¹ and habits, stamping them as an inferior caste. During all this time there were apostasies in vast numbers, to escape massacre. Then it was death to return to Christianity. Few had the courage to risk this ; so the number of Copts diminishes steadily ; there were many people outwardly Moslems, who would be Christians again if they dared.

Al-Maḡrīzī here enlivens his pages with contemporary poems about the Copts :

“ The unbelievers were forced by the sword to profess Islam ;
But as soon as they were free they returned to unbelief.
They professed Islam for love of money and peace ;
Now are they free, but not Moslems.”²

Again :

“ The unbelievers are forced to wear bad hats,
Which by God’s curse increase their shame.
I spoke to them : we have not put turbans on you ;
We put on your heads old shoes.”³

¹ The law was made and repeatedly enforced that Christians were to dress in black and wear black turbans. Each time they gradually modified this into dark blue, which became the special Coptic colour (p. 253). A special part of their dress is a *girdle*. This appears to have its origin in a symbolic linen girdle given at baptism (Abū-Daḡn with Nicolai’s notes : *ed. cit.* pp. 51, 126–127, 162). This girdle was sometimes commanded, sometimes forbidden, by law. But they always wore it. One of the names for Copts is “ People of the girdle (Ahl-almanṭalḡah),” in Italian, “ Cristiani della cintura.”

² Maḡrīzī, p. 31 (Arabic text). The last lines contain two plays on words such as Arabs love : “ Aslamū min rawāḡi māli wa-rūḡ ” : “ Fahum sāli-mūni, lā muslimūn.”

³ *Ib.* p. 32.

So the wolf made fun of the lamb. The Copt had no answer to this pretty wit (it is ill bandying retorts with the man who has the weapons). He bore it meekly. He could join the scoffers in ten minutes by making the Moslem profession before the nearest *Ḳāḍī*. But he counted the faith of Christ more worth having than anything else. Whatever happened, he knew, like the Patriarch, that "You cannot take those words from my heart" (p. 236), and he bore the smiting which God sent him through Islam, and waited for better days. It is true that he was a Monophysite heretic and hated Chalcedon; but can we, who sit in comfort under a tolerant Government, ever forget what he bore for his Lord, and ours?

6. The Mamluks (1250-1517)

In 1250 another revolution gave the Copts new masters. We have seen that foreign mercenaries, chiefly Selgūḵ Turks, originally bought as slaves, gradually became the real power at Bagdad (pp. 27, 233). The same thing happened in Egypt. Already under Saladin there was a guard (*ḥalfah*) of slave-soldiers to protect the Sultan. About the same time as the Turks reduced the Khalif at Bagdad to being a mere figure-head, they seized power in Egypt. They had become the most powerful force in the country. In 1250 they murdered the Aiyūbid Sultan, Al-Mu'azzim Turanshah, and set up the widow of the former Sultan (Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb, 1240-1249). This lady was named "Tree of Pearls" (*shaḡar-addūrr*). They made Tree of Pearls marry one of their officers, who took the name Al-Malik al-mu'izz; at first they allowed a boy Al-ashraf Mūsā to be counted as fellow-Sultan; but he was deposed in 1252. The anomaly of a queen in Islam was too strange to last. The Khalif at Bagdad (who had once had Tree of Pearls in his harem,) sent them a message: "If you cannot find a man to rule you, I will send you one." So they murdered poor Tree of Pearls in 1257. From now begins the rule of the Slave-Sultans, the Mamluks,¹ in Egypt. It is a curious situation. For over two and a half centuries, till its conquest by the Ottomans in 1517, Egypt was ruled by Mamluk

¹ *Mamlūk* (pl. *mamālīk*), one of the usual Arabic words for "slave."

Sultans. They were rich, powerful sovereigns, who brought their court to a high state of culture and luxury. And they were all either slaves bought in a public market or the descendants of slaves. There was no kind of disgrace in being a Mamluk. The Mamluk soldiers held the whole country in their power. They set up their own officers as Sultans; unless a man were one of them, he had no chance of becoming Sultan.

The time of Mamluk rule is divided into two periods. The finest regiment of the slave-guard was that of the Baḥrī¹ Mamluks. They put an end to the Aiyūbid dynasty and set up their officers as Sultans. The seventh of these (Ḳalā'ūn, 1279-1290) succeeded in founding a hereditary dynasty, so that his descendants reigned till 1390. The Baḥrī Sultans really ruled, and kept their fellow-Mamluks under. Then follows a second line, called the Burġī² Sultans. This line is not hereditary. The soldiers set up one officer after another, nearly all Circassian slaves (though two were of Greek blood).³ These Sultans had no power over the army which appointed them. The foreign soldiers do as they please; the Government becomes anarchy and licence. Under it Egypt, both Moslem and Christian, suffers every kind of misery, till in 1517, the Ottoman Sultan conquers the country, adds it to his already vast empire, and gives it what is, compared to the former state of things, the advantage of normal Ottoman rule.

The most famous Mamluk Sultan is Baibars⁴ (1260-1277). He had only one eye, and began his career by fetching about £20 in the market. He had belonged to an Amīr called Bundukdār, who sold him to the Aiyūbid Sultan Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb (1240-1249). He murdered his predecessor (Ḳuṭuz, 1259-1260), and became a splendid tyrant of the Moslem kind. He was a mighty warrior,

¹ Baḥr, which we generally translate "sea" or "lake" (the Dead Sea is Baḥr Lūṭ, the "lake of Lot"), is also used in Egypt for the Nile. The Baḥrī (maritime) regiment was so called because its barracks were on an island of the Nile opposite Fuṣṭāṭ.

² Burġ is a castle, in this case the citadel of Cairo.

³ Ḥuṣḥ-ḳadam (1461-1467) and Timūr-buġā (1467-1468). Both were, of course, Moslem.

⁴ As-Sultān al-Maliku-zẒāhir, Ruknu-dDunyā wa-Dīn, Baibarsu-lBundukdariyu-ṣṢāliḥi (the Sultan, the manifest King, Prop of the State and Religion, Baibars, of the Archer, of Ṣāliḥ).

fought valiantly against the Crusaders, was just and humane to Christians, raised Egypt to a great and powerful state, overran the Sudan, and left a reputation in Egypt second only to that of Saladin. He died from accidentally drinking a cup which he had prepared for someone else.¹ During Baibars' time the Mongols had put an end to the Abbasid Khalifs at Bagdad (p. 97). He then brought an Abbasid (Al-Ḥākim) to Cairo in 1262, and set him up as Khalif, but with a purely spiritual authority. From now till 1538 there is a Sunni Khalif in Egypt, under the protection of the Mamluk Sultan, revered by all Sunni Moslems as their spiritual head, but having no claim to temporal authority. It is through these last Abbasids at Cairo that the Khalifate comes to the Sultan of Turkey (p. 248).² The next most famous Mamluk Sultan is Ḳalā'ūn³ (which means a duck), 1279-1290. He too had been a slave of Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ. He succeeded in founding a dynasty in his own family, which lasted till the end of the Baḥri Sultans (1390). His son Ḥalīl (1290-1293) took Acre, the last possession of the Crusaders, in 1292, and so ended the episode of the Crusades. The period of the Baḥri Mamluks was brilliant. They built splendid mosques, endowed Moslem colleges, and made Egypt the most sumptuous kingdom in Islam.⁴ But the fitful massacre and continual persecution of Christians went on under them as before. During all the 14th century there was continual fierce persecution. In 1320 various fires burst out in towns of Egypt. These were ascribed, not, it appears, altogether without reason, to Christian incendiaries. There was enormous excitement among the Moslem mob. Vast numbers of Copts were massacred, churches without number were pillaged and destroyed. For a year no one dared to celebrate any Christian service in Egypt. Maḡrīzī says that persecution was caused by the unparalleled insolence of the Copts, of whom one (a writer in a government

¹ There are several cases of this in Moslem history. If you habitually prepare poison for other people, you should be very careful to keep their drinks separate from your own.

² A list of the Khalifs in Egypt is given by Lane-Poole: *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 265, n. 1.

³ As-Sultān al-Maliku-l-Manṣūr, Saifu-dDīn, Kalā'ūn al-Alfiyu-ṣṢāliḥi (the Sultan, the Victorious King, Sword of the Religion, the Military Duck of Ṣāliḥ).

⁴ A list of the Baḥri Sultans is given by S. Lane-Poole: *op. cit.* p. 254.

office) dared to ride (without dismounting) past the Al-Azhar mosque at Cairo wearing boots, spurs and a white turban.¹

In 1389 a great procession of Copts who had accepted Islam under fear of death marched through Cairo. Repenting of their apostasy, they now wished to atone for it by the inevitable consequence of returning to Christianity. So as they marched they proclaimed that they believed in Christ and renounced Mohammed. They were seized, and all the men were beheaded one after another in an open square before the women. But this did not terrify the women ; so they, too, were all martyred.

The time of the Burġi Sultans (1390-1517) was one of utter misery for all Egyptians. A series of helpless puppet-kings was set up by the lawless Mamluks. These kings, constantly deposed or murdered,² had no control of the soldiers. The country was in a state of anarchy ; the soldiers did just as they liked, plundered and slew peaceable citizens of any creed with impunity. No decent woman dared go out of doors. And the unhappy Christians, always victims of Moslem misrule, naturally suffered tenfold in this state of things. The hideous condition of the state produced continual and ghastly famines in the Nile valley, richest land of the Levant, which had once supplied corn for all the empire. Honest Maḳrīzī, who has been our faithful guide so long, lived at this time (he died at Cairo in 1441). He gives a lurid description of one such famine, in the year 1403, from which he too suffered.³

The only Coptic Patriarch who stands out in this period is Gabriel V (1409-1427), who wrote an explanation of the Coptic rite and reformed their liturgical books.⁴ John XI (1427-1453) showed some desire for reunion at the time of the Council of Florence (1438-1439). He sent John, abbot of an Egyptian monastery, as his legate to the council. A union with the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt (called Jacobites) was proclaimed, and Abbot John signed the decree.⁵ But the union fell through almost at once, or rather was never really carried out in Egypt.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 78.

² S. Lane-Poole : *op. cit.* p. 324, gives a list of the Burġi Sultans.

³ *Hist. des Sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (ed. by M. Quatremère, Paris, 1837), i. p. v.

⁴ *Or. Christ.* ii. 499.

⁵ Decretum pro Iacobitis in Denzinger : *Enchiridion* (ed. 11), Nos. 703-715.

7. Under the Ottoman Turks (1517-1882)

Meanwhile, the kingdom founded by Osman¹ (1281-1326) on the ruins of the Selgūk power² had grown to a mighty empire. It was gathering all Moslem states in the Levant under its power. When Mohammed the Conqueror entered Constantinople in 1453, he sent news of his conquest to the Mamluk Sultan at Cairo (Ināl, 1453-1461). Cairo was illuminated in honour of so glorious a triumph of Islam; but I imagine it was done without enthusiasm. The power of the Ottoman Turks was becoming a very serious danger to all their neighbours—Moslem as well as Christian. It must already have been clear that they would swallow up everything until they were resisted by a greater force than their own; every victory they gained made that less likely. Then for half a century the Ottoman Sultan was too busy conquering his Christian neighbours to trouble about Egypt. But in 1514 the inevitable happened. Selim I (1512-1520) picked a quarrel with Egypt, invaded the country, in 1517 easily conquered Cairo from the effete Mamluks, and so made himself master of Egypt. Tūmān Beg, the last Mamluk Sultan, was hanged; the last Abbasid Khalif, Al-Mutawakkil III, was carried off to Constantinople. Later he was allowed to return to Cairo; he died there in 1538, bequeathing his title to the Turkish Sultan.³

We have noted that, after the abominations of the later Mamluks, the rule of the Ottomans came as a benefit to Egypt. Bad as Turkish rule is, it was better than the anarchy which had gone before. From now till Napoleon's invasion, Egypt is a province of the great Turkish Empire. A Turkish Pasha was its governor. But the Mamluks revived their strength and gradually became again a great power in the land. Their chief Amīr (the Shaiḥ-ulbilād)⁴ was always a dangerous rival to the Pasha. In 1768

¹ 'Uṭmān.

² The Mongols finally crushed the Selgūk Turks in 1300.

³ The Turkish Sultan's claim to be Khalif of all Sunni Islam rests solely on this bequest of Mutawakkil. It is an utterly illegal title, as every honest Moslem theologian knows. The Khalif has no power of leaving the Khalifate to whom he likes. A lawful Khalif must be at least an Arab, if not of the tribe of Qurāish. As a matter of fact, the original idea of the Khalifate is utterly bankrupt since Mutawakkil died.

⁴ "Old man (=Lord) of the land."

the Mamluks succeeded in driving out the Pasha and making Egypt independent again. But this only lasted four years. Then, as usual under the Porte, the province became very nearly independent. As long as the Sultan was acknowledged in theory, and received his tribute regularly, he took no trouble about the internal affairs of the various provinces. So the Mamluks fought among themselves and again reduced the unhappy land to its usual state of misery. Only this time each usurper went through the formality of getting an appointment from Constantinople.

Meanwhile, the Copts have scarcely any history. For one thing, our sources have come to an end before this time. Maḳrīzī died in 1441; the continuators of Severus (in the History of the Patriarchs) and Renaudot's compilation from them, Wansleb and Abū-Ḍaḳn, give nothing but a meagre list of Patriarchs. This is less to be regretted, since from what we know of the general state of Egypt and of all Christians under the Porte, we can imagine the lot of the Copts fairly accurately. They became one more *millah* (nation) of rayahs, like the others. Their bishops paid the usual fee and got their berat from the Government; the laity paid their poll-tax. Centuries of persecution had wrought the natural effect. When the Moslems first entered Egypt in the 7th century, except for a small minority of Orthodox, the whole land was Coptic. Under the Turks the Copts had become a mere handful among a Moslem population (descendants of apostates); the Orthodox were a still smaller body. Both suffered from the unruliness of the rebel Mamluks. One result of the Turkish conquest is curious. The Turk of the two preferred the Orthodox to the Copts. He was used to the Orthodox. He had millions of them already in his empire. They acknowledged some kind of vague authority on the part of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was the Sultan's creature and, in any case, was the *civil* chief of all his co-religionists.¹ So the Orthodox were the Christians centralized at Constantinople. The Turk gave them at least equal rights with the Copts; indeed, he was inclined to be on their side in a quarrel. Under the Turk the Orthodox community of Egypt revives and is comparatively flourishing again (as far as any Christians can be said to flourish under a Moslem govern-

¹ See *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 239, 284-285, etc.

ment) ; it even makes some converts from the Copts.¹ But the Copts were not worse treated than other rayahs. For about three centuries there is nothing special to chronicle. Then comes the series of events which form the history of modern Egypt.

In 1798 Napoleon won the battle of the Pyramids and made the country a French province for three years. In 1801 the English drove out the French and restored the authority of the Turks. In 1805 Mohammed 'Ali drove out the Turkish Pasha, massacred the chief Mamluks, and founded a dynasty of Khedives,² who still rule Egypt, with a merely nominal dependence on the Turkish Sultan. Since 1882 Great Britain exercises a protectorate over Egypt, which differs from governing the country only in theory.

This period has at last brought peace to the Copts. The interference of Europe means, at any rate, the end of persecution and decent conditions for people of all religions. Now the Copts have nothing of which they can complain, except that they say that we favour the Moslems at their expense and have not yet given Copts complete equality in everything.³

Summary

The fourteen centuries of Coptic history are one long story of persecution. From the time the Egyptian Monophysites organized their Church after the Council of Chalcedon (452) till the English took over Egypt in 1882 they have been cruelly persecuted. For the first century they were persecuted by the Roman Empire, which tried to make them Orthodox. The interludes of this persecution are the moments when they got the upper hand and retaliated by murdering their oppressors. In 639 the Moslem Arabs conquered Egypt and persecuted both the rival Churches of Copts and Orthodox. For three hundred years Egyptian

¹ The great affair of Cyril Lukaris, Patriarch first of Alexandria (1603-1620), then of Constantinople (at five intervals between 1620 and 1638), does not concern the Copts (*Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 264-268).

² Ḥudaiwī, "Lord" (from ḥadā, "to march"), one of the many possible names for a dependent prince.

³ This is the complaint of Kyriakhos Mikhail : *Copts and Moslems under British Control in Egypt* (London : Simpkin, Marshall, 1911).

Christians groaned under the tyranny of Amīrs of the Sunni Khalifs (at Damascus and Bagdad). From 969 to 1171 Egypt has a Shi'ah Khalif (of the so-called Fatimid House) of her own. The Fatimids are, on the whole, a shade less outrageous in their treatment of Christians ; but one of them, the unspeakable Hākīm (996-1021), is the worst persecutor under whom Egypt, perhaps any country, ever suffered. In 1171 the great Saladin restored the Sunni faith, and set up a line of practically independent Sultans. His descendants (the Aiyūbids) persecuted too. In 1250 the slave-guard (Mamluks) get the upper hand ; their officers reign for two centuries and a half, during the latter part of which time anarchy and misrule of every kind reduce the country to utter misery, and the Copts suffer again untold misfortunes. In 1517 the Ottoman Turks conquer Egypt and give the Christians, not real toleration nor even decent treatment, but a rather better tyranny than they had yet known. It was not till the 19th century that European interference at last brought peace to the Copts.

During all this time the line of Coptic Patriarchs, from Dioscor and Timothy the Cat, continues unbroken, side by side with that of their Orthodox rivals. Both lines can show a long series of pontiffs who bore appalling ill-usage for their faith. The Coptic clergy and people keep alive the Christian religion almost miraculously through the long centuries of ill-usage. Their old language died out, except in the liturgy ; they all learned to speak Arabic. Enormous numbers apostatized during the continual persecution, but not all. The comparatively small number which remain are those who, bearing everything with that extraordinary meekness which is characteristic of the native Egyptian, yet never let the faith of Christ be quite stamped out. What they have borne for it we can hardly conceive. Honour to the countless unknown Coptic martyrs who shed their blood, to the still greater number of confessors who bore poverty, imprisonment and torture for the Lord of all Christians. For, when the last day comes, weightier than their theological errors will count the glorious wounds they bore for him under the blood-stained cloud of Islam.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COPTS IN OUR TIME

FROM some points of view the Coptic Church is the most interesting of all in the East. It is now quite a small body, but it has wonderful traditions. The Copts are the chief of the Monophysites. That heresy began in Egypt—Egypt was always its centre. Except the Armenians (who in many ways stand apart), all Monophysites look to Alexandria (or Cairo) as the stronghold of their faith. So the Copts form the other great Eastern Church, which we can compare with the Orthodox—great not in numbers, but in ecclesiastical importance. What they have in common with the Orthodox we may put down as generally Eastern; what they do not share is specifically Byzantine. Indeed, the Copts are archæologically more important than the Orthodox. Coptic archæology is the most curious, the most ancient in Christendom. In many things the Copts keep an older custom than the Orthodox. Among Eastern Churches the Orthodox have by no means the most ancient stamp. Their rite is a late one; during their years of prosperity (down to 1453) they developed and modified much of ancient Christian custom. But the Copts are wonderfully primitive. Their isolation, the arresting of their development, happened in 639. During the centuries of their obscurity under Moslem tyrants they have attempted nothing but to keep unchanged the customs of their free fathers. A more faithful picture of the days of Athanasius is kept in a Coptic than in an Orthodox church. And this is natural and right. For the Alexandrine Patriarchate, which the Copts represent, is a far more venerable see than the upstart Byzantine throne which so long domineered over, and spoilt, the Orthodox Church.

1. The Patriarch and Hierarchy

We are now clear as to what is meant by a Copt. A Copt is a native Egyptian who is a member of the national Monophysite Church. We do not call an Egyptian who belongs to any other religious body a Copt,¹ nor do we so call a Monophysite who is not an Egyptian.

In 1900 the total number of Copts was estimated at 592,374 ; that is about one-fifteenth of the whole population of Egypt.² By far the largest group is in Cairo (27,546). Alexandria has 5338 ; the rest are scattered through towns and villages of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt. After Cairo they are most spread in Upper Egypt (As-Siut, Girgah, etc.) ; here in many villages they form the majority of the population. They all talk Arabic ; even the clergy know very little Coptic (p. 277) ; they dress in the usual Arab dress, a long shirt down to their feet (sirbāl, ḡamīṣ) girt around their waist, a cloak (mashlāḡ, 'abā'), and a turban. But the cloak and turban are nearly always dark (black or blue), remnant of the days when they were forced by law to wear dark colours. The tight black or dark-blue turban is characteristic of Copts, especially of their clergy.

The most remarkable qualities of the Copts have always been their power of reviving and their comparative prosperity, in spite of fierce persecution. In this they resemble the Jews. Copts have never been fighting men. They have lain down under treatment which would have driven any Western race to desperate resistance. So the Moslem looks upon them as poor creatures. But no persecution could extinguish them. We read of ghastly massacres, wholesale confiscation of their property ; then a generation or two later they are again a rich and large community, ready to be plundered again. There are Coptic peasants (fellaḡīn) who till the soil ; but their leaders are rich merchants at Cairo and Alexandria.

¹ There are native Egyptians who are Latins, many who are Orthodox or Byzantine Uniate (Melkite), even a few Protestants. The *Uniate Copts* form a class apart, of which in our next volume.

² K. Beth : *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 129-130.

All Copts obey their one Patriarch (of Alexandria). In theory they admit seven Patriarchs, four greater ones, of Rome,¹ Alexandria,² Antioch, and Ephesus, which they count as transferred to Constantinople, and three lesser, merely titular, ones : Jerusalem, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and Abyssinia.³ But of these, all, except Alexandria, Antioch (of course the Jacobite see) and Abyssinia, have fallen into Dyophysism and the wicked heresies of Chalcedon ; so they are separated from the true Monophysite Church. The Coptic Patriarch is elected by the twelve bishops who form his court. He is always a monk, generally abbot of one of the chief monasteries. He may not already be a bishop. The Copts keep the old law which forbids the transference of a bishop from one see to another. He must be celibate, the son of a father who was his wife's first husband. He must be a native Egyptian, and at least fifty years old. What happened in practice till quite lately was that the monks of a chief monastery proposed someone (usually their abbot) and the bishops elected him. Often there was only one candidate. The Patriarch had to lead an exceedingly abstemious life ; so the dignity was not much coveted. Indeed, one hears of the elect being seized by force and chained up in Cairo till they ordained him. The election was made by lot. The names were written on slips ; a slip was added inscribed

¹ It is perhaps hardly worth noticing that every Eastern Church, as a matter of course, acknowledges the Pope as first Patriarch and chief bishop in Christendom, and also as Patriarch having lawful jurisdiction over all the West. The idea, which one sometimes hears from Anglicans, that all bishops are equal, is unknown to any ancient Church. They all have the most definite idea of a graduated hierarchy among bishops ; Metropolitans, Exarchs, and Patriarchs lord it over their suffragans, generally tyrannically. They are not really far from our concept of the Papacy. They have only to add that the chief Patriarch has jurisdiction over the other Patriarchs, as these have over Metropolitans, as Metropolitans have over simple bishops. The Anglican who thinks that he makes a great concession by admitting that the Pope is the chief bishop in Italy is as ludicrously far from any concept of the Eastern Churches, or of antiquity, as the Presbyterian who is prepared to concede that a bishop is the chief clergyman in larger towns. The standard of agreement of all so-called branches of the Church gives the Pope a position which would surprise most Anglicans. Notably it gives him jurisdiction over England.

² They keep the old order, which was the rule before Chalcedon, counting the Alexandrine See as second after Rome (*Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 9, 42, 50, etc.).

³ Vansleb : *op. cit.* pp. 9-10 ; Silbernagl : *Verfassung, u.s.w.* p. 278.

"Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd." These were put under an altar and the holy liturgy was celebrated on it for three days. Then a boy drew out a slip. If the one with the holy name was drawn, this was a sign that God chose none of the candidates, so new ones replaced them. In the past the election was often made a mere form by the intrusion of someone whom the Moslem authorities desired, or who had bribed them. Now, the Patriarch is always a monk from the great monastery of St. Antony in the Eastern desert, by the Red Sea.¹ The bishops choose him by lot. He receives the orders of deacon and priest, and is made an abbot (ḡummuṣ), if he has not these qualities already. He is then ordained bishop during the holy liturgy. The eldest bishop presides, but all lay their hands on him. He is enthroned, acclaimed by the people, and gives his blessing. The Patriarch's full title is: "Most holy Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria and of the places subject to Egypt, of Jerusalem the holy city, of Abyssinia, Nubia, the Pentapolis, and of all places where St. Mark preached."² But there are alternative, longer titles, in which the old epithet, "Judge of the world" occurs.³ The Patriarch is the supreme authority in his Church. He cannot be deposed for any cause; he alone appoints and ordains all bishops; he alone consecrates the Holy Chrism. His income consists of free offerings, to which every Copt contributes, stole-fees and stipends for ordinations, also of considerable funds invested for

¹ For this monastery see Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches*, i. 342-346.

² Vansleb: *Hist. de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, p. 27; Silbernagl: *op. cit.* p. 282; Denzinger: *Ritus Orientalium*, ii. 35-63, gives the laws for the election and ordination of the Patriarch, from Ibn Naṣāl, Abū-Ibirkāt, etc.

³ Vansleb: *Hist. de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, p. 7. The title "Judge of the World" has been assumed by both the Orthodox and the Coptic Patriarchs of Alexandria; according to the usual account, since St. Cyril presided at Ephesus. Renaudot: *de Patr. Alex. (Lit. Or. Coll. i. 348-349)*. "Pope" (πάππας) is simply late Greek for "Father." As far as the word goes, it might be assumed by any bishop or even priest (as in Russia). It is only gradually that titles get a special technical sense. The sometimes suggested derivation from Coptic *Pi-abba* (*Abba* with the strong article) is fantastic and absurd. The title *Anbā*, used for saints, and now given generally only to the Patriarch, is not easy to explain. It is generally understood as a form of Ἀββᾶς (Syriac: Abbā), and is translated "Father." See Wüstenfeld's introduction to Al-Maḡrīzī (*ed. cit.* p. 6). The Arabic Abū (Father) in Egypt is often contracted to Bū. This form (bū) is not inflected.

his use. His dress in private life is the usual monastic one, a black cloak and black turban, but with the bishop's pectoral cross. Needless to say, like all Eastern clergy, he wears a beard. Photographs of the present Coptic Patriarch show him wearing a number of decorations given by various Governments (this is a weakness to which all Eastern prelates are subject), and holding the little cross with a handle with which he blesses people.¹

In 1844 there were thirteen dioceses under the Coptic Patriarch, including Khartum, erected in 1835 for Nubia.² Six of these bishops have the title Metropolitan.³ The only see outside Egypt is Al-Kuds (Jerusalem), of which the Coptic bishop lives at Jaffa. But the diocesan administration is hardly a reality. Beth says: "One cannot speak of any real diocesan administration among the Copts at all."⁴ Namely, the bishops, in spite of their titles, live at Cairo and form the Patriarch's Curia; he alone exercises episcopal jurisdiction throughout Egypt. But I doubt how far this is now true. The bishops of Jerusalem and Khartum certainly reside in their dioceses; it seems that the present revival in the Coptic Church includes a movement towards making bishops look after their flocks. In 1897 the Patriarch increased the number of his episcopate to eighteen, making the abbots of the four chief monasteries bishops.⁵ All bishops must be celibate, so all are monks. They dress as monks, with an episcopal pectoral cross. A great number of priests are ordained in masses without any preparation. One of the constant reproaches against this Church is the want of education among her clergy. Many priests cannot read even Arabic, still less Coptic. They say the Coptic prayers by heart, without understanding them; frequently in the liturgy the Gospel is read by a layman, because the priest cannot do so. Quantities are ordained without any provision being made for their work or maintenance. A priest

¹ Such a photograph may be seen in Archdeacon Dowling: *The Egyptian Church*, p. 10.

² The list in Silbernagl, pp. 289-290; cf. Vansleb: *Hist. de l'Église d'Alexandrie*, pp. 17-26.

³ Butler says four only: Alexandria (separate from the Patriarchate?), Memphis, Jerusalem, Abyssinia (*op. cit.* ii. 313).

⁴ *Die orientalische Christenheit*, p. 133.

⁵ Their names and sees will be found in Mrs. Butcher: *op. cit.* ii. 429. Butler (*op. cit.* ii. 318) gives only fourteen sees, including three in Abyssinia.

may be married (before ordination) to a virgin ;¹ after ordination he cannot marry again. All, except monks, are married and many carry on some mean trade. As for the deacons, Beth says : " These are truly miserable creatures, boys thirteen or fourteen years old, often blind boys who are ordained as some sort of provision for them." ² The minor orders (for instance, the Lectorate) are now extinct.

Egypt, the home of monasticism, has still quantities of monks. As among the Orthodox, they form the aristocracy of the clergy. Only monks can become bishops. They abstain always from flesh-meat, sing the divine office, and do manual work. There are a number of large and, archæologically, extremely interesting Coptic monasteries throughout Egypt, which are the homes of all that is characteristic in the sect.³ The most famous Coptic monasteries are St. Mercurius (Dair Abū-sSaifain, see pp. 268-269) at old Cairo ; ⁴ then four in the Nitrian desert, where once was a great number, notably AlBaramūs,⁵ those said to have been founded by St. Antony and St. Paul in the Eastern desert by the Red Sea,⁶ and Dair AsSūriāni, also in the Nitrian desert, where Curzon found precious manuscripts.⁷ The abbots of AlBaramūs, St. Antony, and St. Paul are now bishops. There are two classes of monks, inasmuch as some only, who aspire to higher perfection, after years of probation receive the " angelic habit " and are bound by severer rules. The abbot (ḡummuṣ)⁸ is appointed by a rite which looks very like a sacramental ordination. The title ḡummuṣ is also given as an honour to the chief priest of certain great churches, who is a titular abbot or archpriest. Beth even distinguishes two orders, " archpriests " and " priests." ⁹ But

¹ Secular priests are invariably married. Indeed, the law seems to imply that they must be. Among the testimonies required before ordination is one that the candidate is lawfully married (Butler : *op. cit.* ii. 319). I am not sure whether a Coptic bishop would refuse to ordain a celibate man ; but I think he would. ² Beth : *op. cit.* 134.

³ Long and accurate descriptions of these will be found in A. J. Butler *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. i.

⁴ Butler : *op. cit.* i. 75-154.

⁵ *Ib.* 286-340.

⁶ *Ib.* 342-348

⁷ *Ib.* 316-326. R. Curzon : *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, chap. vii.-viii. (ed. 6, Murray, 1881), pp. 98-113.

⁸ From ἡγούμενος. Copt : hygomenos.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 134.

ķummuş is only a higher title, given (as is that of archimandrite among the Orthodox and Melkites) to priests who are not really abbots at all ; or, as we have monsignori, honorary officials of the Pope's court. There is also a special rite for making an Archdeacon,¹ who is a kind of vicar general to the bishop. Both these ranks of ķummuş and the archdeacon are always counted as orders of the hierarchy. There are a few convents of nuns.²

Lately there has been a strong movement among the Copts for reform in many directions. The reforming party demand better education for the clergy and a lay right of control in certain matters, particularly in finance. This is undoubtedly due to European, especially to English, influence.³ The conservative party denounce the reformers as Anglicized Semi-Protestants. American Presbyterians also have been active among the Copts. In 1890 they opened the flourishing Tiufik school, which educates numbers of Coptic boys, but is said to leave them with diminished loyalty towards the national Church. The English Church Missionary Society and an " Association for the furtherance of Christianity in Egypt " have done the same kind of work. The Patriarch is bitterly opposed to these. Forced by their rivalry, he has at last opened a theological school at Cairo, and has even sent two students to the Rhizarion school at

¹ Ra'is shamāmisah.

² Mrs. Butler says three only (*The Story of the Church of Egypt*, ii. p. 411). She gives 418 as the total number of Coptic Churches (*ib.*). A list of monasteries will be found in Silbernagl: *Verfassung, u.s.w.* p. 293. There is a Coptic Monastery at Jerusalem, in the Ĥārat anNaşārā, next to what English tourists call the Pool of Hezekiah.

³ The Church Missionary Society sent Mr. Lieder to Egypt in 1830. Mr. Henry Tattam, an authority on the language, who wrote a Coptic grammar (London, 1830), came in 1838, made friends with the Copts, and wrote a report of their state for the Archbishop of Canterbury. Curzon came in 1833 ; he wrote an account of what he saw in his *Monasteries of the Levant*. A Mr. T. Grimshawe came in 1839. All these persons worked for the enlightenment, but also, it would seem, for the Protestantizing of the Copts. Tattam edited a book of Gospels in Coptic and Arabic ; Lieder opened a school, which had to be closed in 1848 because of the hostility of the Patriarch. These gentlemen and the Church Missionary Society have rather spoiled the field for High Church missionary effort. It has been proposed that the Archbishop of York should do for the Copts what Canterbury is doing for the Nestorians. But the Copts understand more about the state of the Church of England than do the Nestorians, and they are suspicious of what High Churchmen tell them about Anglicanism.

Athens, evidently preferring the danger of Orthodox teaching to that of Protestantism.

The present Patriarch is Cyril V.¹ His family name is Maṭar. The last Patriarch, Demetrios II, died in 1873. At that moment the agitation for reform was very strong. The reformers had drawn up a scheme for the establishment of councils, composed of both clergy and laity, to administer the property of each diocese. For two years the throne was vacant while the reformers and conservatives struggled, each for their own representative. At last, in 1875, Cyril V was chosen. He was the candidate of the reformers; at his election he promised to admit the councils and to introduce all necessary reforms. But he has bitterly disappointed his party. Soon he abolished the councils, shut up schools, and showed himself in every way the most hardened conservative. He is fiercely opposed to all reforming societies; he has excommunicated their leaders, and has always used his authority to put down every "Anglicizing," modernizing, or Protestant tendency. Both he and his rivals have constantly appealed to the Government against each other. All reforming Copts, pupils of English or American schools, imbued with modern Western ideas, will tell you that there is no hope of improving the state of their Church while Cyril V lives. On the other hand, of course, the old-fashioned people say that this ardent spirit of reform, this eager desire to adopt English ideas, really means a Protestant tendency which is a grave danger to their venerable Church. Lord Cyril V still reigns, a very old man.² If the reformers succeed in making one of their party Patriarch when he dies, there will probably be startling changes.

2. The Coptic Faith

Copts are Monophysites. There is not the least doubt about this, though their Monophysism is of the more moderate (and less

¹ Beth calls him Cyril XI; I do not know why (*op. cit.* 131).

² I have no reason to doubt that His Holiness is a pious and zealous prelate. But he will not see strangers. When you go to his palace (next to the Coptic Patriarchal Church, in the Darb alwaṣāḥ at Cairo) he sends you his blessing by a secretary.

logical) school of Severus of Antioch (p. 197). As in the case of all Eastern Churches, their heresy is seen most plainly, not directly by metaphysical statements concerning nature and person (for among their ill-educated clergy we cannot expect to find clear ideas on such difficult points), but implicitly by their attitude towards historic facts. They reject and abhor the Council of Chalcedon. They detest the Dogmatic Letter of St. Leo I. They maintain that this and the council renewed the impious heresy of Nestorius. They declare that Catholics and Orthodox are heretics, because we accept the Dyophysite errors of Chalcedon. They venerate the memory of the leading Monophysites—Dioscor, Timothy the Cat, Severus, as saints and champions of the true faith taught by St. Cyril of Alexandria. A man who holds these views is a Monophysite. As long as they had a literature they argued against what was defined at Chalcedon. In the 13th century a Coptic divine, Ibn-naṣal, wrote a treatise, *Collection of the Principles of Faith*, in which he argues against Pagans, Jews, Nestorians and Melkites.¹ Indifferent outsiders, such as Maḳrīzī, understand and explain the difference between three kinds of Christians, Nestorians, Melkites and Copts, quite accurately.² Lastly, the present authorized Coptic catechism contains plain Monophysism. It teaches that our Lord “became one only person, one only distinct substance, one only nature, with one will, and one operation.”³ Indeed, in spite of the modern craze for denying that heretical bodies really hold the heresy of which they are accused, I have not yet found anyone who claims that the Copts are not Monophysites. That may come. The people who so hotly maintain that Nestorians are not Nestorians may quite as well take up the defence of Monophysites.⁴ This then is plain. Ignorant sympathizers with this ancient and venerable Church, who see no reason why Anglicans should not join in communion

¹ Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 585.

² Al-Maḳrīzī: *Hist. of the Copts*, ed. cit. p. 83.

³ *Tanwīr almuḩtada'in fī ta'līm ad-dīn* (The Blossoming of the Beginner in the Study of Religion), by the Hegumenos Filuthā'uṣ. New edition at the Press of Tufīk at Cairo, 1629 (æra mart.) = 1912 A.D., p. 23. ۞

⁴ This has already happened in the case of the Armenians (p. 425, n. 3).

with it,¹ must first make up their minds about the Council of Chalcedon. Reunion with the Copts is only possible if Anglicans turn Monophysite, or succeed in converting Copts to Chalcedon. This last case may be ruled out at once. To convert Copts to Chalcedon is just what Rome does ; and they all denounce a Copt who abandons Monophysism as a renegade from his national Church. If all Copts abandoned the special teaching which constitutes their sect, that would mean the destruction of the very body which Anglicans call the Coptic Church. They all protest loudly that they do not want that.²

On the other hand, it is no doubt true that an unsophisticated Coptic priest, or even bishop, probably understands very little about the issue defended at Chalcedon. If you showed him a Catholic statement, and he did not know whence it came, it is quite likely that he would say it is correct. This only means that his knowledge of all theology is a negligible quantity.

The Copts do not, of course, say the *Filioque* in their creed. They do not seem to have considered the question ;³ but they would undoubtedly now describe it as a fresh Latin error, only adding a slightly darker shade to people who are already black with Chalcedonianism. Needless to say, they altogether reject the Pope's primacy and infallibility. To them, as to all schismatical Easterns, the Pope is a terrible danger, a mighty ogre who wants to swallow up pious Copts and turn them into Latins. Nor does the sight of the Uniate Copts give them any confidence.

¹ E.g. Mrs. Butcher : ii. 411. She understands so little of what Monophysism means that she calls ignoring it " to face the facts of the case."

² Dr. Neale, in spite of his prejudices and often childish diatribes, at least was clear on this point. He will have nothing to do with the Coptic sect, denounces it roundly as a heretical body, and wants Copts to turn Orthodox. We should say : Why Orthodox rather than Papist ? Neale's diatribes against Roman schism in Egypt are very quaint. From the " national Church " point of view his friends the Orthodox are just as much schismatics as Romanists are. But the erection of a Latin see is an " act of open schism committed by Rome " (*Holy Eastern Church*, ii. 288) ; yet when a man turns Orthodox he " joins the Catholic Church " (*ib.* 265).

³ The only Eastern Church which has ever seriously discussed the *Filioque* is that of the Orthodox. To them this has become the great hindrance to reunion (or the next greatest, after the Papacy). But the way of reunion to Nestorians and Monophysites is blocked by so much greater differences that they do not, so to say, come far enough along it to arrive at the *Filioque* difficulty.

They think that Uniates will be made Latins as soon as the Pope has got his hand in ; they hate them, as renegades and apostates, even more than they hate us who were born in Latin darkness. Their idea of the Catholic Church is hard to fathom. In principle they should say, and when urged they do say, that only Monophysites are the true Church of Christ. But practically all they demand is to be recognized and let alone. They make no kind of effort to convert the millions of Dyophysite heretics who surround them. In vain have I tried to make Coptic clergy see that they ought to missionize us and to set up a proper Monophysite Patriarch of Rome. When one assures them that one is not offended, they will admit that Pius X is a hardened Dyophysite (which, of course, he is). They believe that St. Peter founded the Roman See, and that his successor should be the first of Patriarchs ; but they shake their heads over the present state of Rome. I suppose the legitimate Roman Patriarchate collapsed when Leo I signed his Tome. As for the Immaculate Conception, they have so extreme a devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and are so convinced of her freedom from all sin, that it would go hard if they did not admit her freedom from original sin too.¹ The title *Theotókos* is one of their great watchwords, as we might guess from its origin. It occurs repeatedly in their liturgy. You may say what you like about a Monophysite, but you cannot say that he is a Nestorian.

In all other matters they agree with us, except that they share the usual Eastern vagueness on many points. The Eastern Churches have had no scholastic period. The Copts say the Nicene Creed in their liturgy and understand all of it (except the *Filioque* and the "Catholic Church") exactly as we do. They believe in the same Sacraments. Mr. Butler puts as the title of a chapter in his book, "The Seven Sacraments."² Beth says this is incorrect, that the Copts have no idea of a special category of seven "mysteries," but look upon every ritual action done by a priest as a "mystery."³ This is true enough ; but our seven are all there and only need to be classified. A word or two will be

¹ I know one Coptic priest who said that he certainly believed the Mother of God to be free from all stain of original sin, but that he did not believe in the Immaculate Conception, because that is what the Uniates say.

² *Ancient Coptic Churches*, ii. chap. vii. p. 262.

³ *Oriental. Christenheit*, p. 414.

said about them when we come to the rites (pp. 278-286). The faith of the Copts in the Real Presence leaves nothing to be desired. Just before his Communion the Coptic celebrant says: "The body and blood of Emmanuel our God this is in truth. Amen. I believe, I believe, I believe, and I confess unto the last breath that this is the quickening flesh which thine only-begotten Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ took of the Lady of us all, the holy Mother of God St. Mary." ¹ It may indeed be noticed that no liturgy in Christendom contains such categorical statements of the real, objective, essential change of bread and wine into the body and blood of our Lord as does that of the Copts.² Two unpardonable errors are constantly made about the Copts: namely, that they do not pray for the dead, or do not offer the holy Sacrifice for them; and that they do not pray to saints. They pray for the dead explicitly and at length in every liturgy; as soon as the diptychs of the dead are read the deacon says: "Pray for our fathers and our brethren who have fallen asleep and gone to their rest in the faith of Christ." ³ The celebrant prays: "Vouchsafe to grant rest to all their souls in the bosom of our holy fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," etc.⁴ Their funeral service is full of prayers for the dead. But they share a certain vagueness, common in the East, about purgatory. Anyhow, all we could demand on this point is, at least implicitly, contained in their prayers. The official catechism published by Abūna Filutha'ūs (ḵummuṣ of the Patriarchal Church at Cairo) contains exactly what a Catholic would say: "(Q) Are (faithful) souls (of the dead) profited by prayers and good works? (A) Yes. The prayers of the Church and the offering of the holy Sacrifice and works of mercy profit those souls which have passed away with some imperfections and faults of weakness (but not those which were sunk in vice and hardness of heart and have not done penance nor asked pardon). This truth has been held by the universal Church of Christ from the first ages, and the Church of Israel bears witness in the Book of Maccabees that Judas Maccabæus offered sacrifices

¹ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 185.

² *Ib.* pp. 177, 180, 181.

³ *Ib.* p. 169.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 170.

for the departed soldiers.”¹ They have copious indirect invocations of saints in their liturgy. It keeps the archaic form of praying *for* saints.² But so anxious are they not to be misunderstood that the celebrant explains to God: “Not that we, O Master, are worthy to intercede for their blessedness who are there (in heaven), but with intent that, standing before the tribunal of thine only-begotten Son, they may in recompense intercede for our poverty and weakness. Be the remitter of our iniquities for the sake of their holy prayers, and for thy blessed Name’s sake whereby we are called.”³ The Coptic Divine Office is full of direct, explicit invocation of saints, addressing them (especially the Blessed Virgin) with exceeding reverence, with a greater accumulation of titles, more superlative praise than can be found in the sober Roman Office. Let anyone take up Mr. O’Leary’s translation of the Daily Office; ⁴ there is hardly a page which is not full of examples. I select one at hazard: “Hail thou who hast found grace, Holy Mary, Mother of God: blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. Thou hast borne to us the Saviour of our souls. *Glory be*, etc. Holy John, who baptized Christ, remember our congregations, that we may be set free from our misdeeds. Thou hast received favour to intercede for us. *Both now*, etc. Our holy fathers, the great Abba Antony, the three Abbots Macarius, our father Abba John, our father Abba Pishoi, our father Abba Pakhom, our father Abba Theodore, and our righteous father the great Abba Samuel: intercede for us, that we may be delivered from trouble and distress: we have you as intercessors before Christ. O Mother of God, we have recourse to the protection of thy mercies: despise not our prayers in need, but save us from destruction, O thou alone blessed. Lord have mercy, etc. (forty-one times).”⁵

Copts keep relics and treat them with great honour. They share the usual Eastern prejudice against solid statues; but their churches are full of pictures of saints. These they treat with great, we should almost say with excessive, respect. Once

¹ *Tanwîr almubtada’în*, ed. cit. p. 67.

² So the *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. x. 7 (Brightman, p. 10): “ἐπὶ αὐτῶν,” which word is ambiguous.

³ Brightman, p. 169; cf. 187–188.

⁴ See p. 279, n. 1.

⁵ From the Prayer of the eleventh hour, *op. cit.* p. 105.

they had an Iconoclast Patriarch. Cyril IV (1854-1862), in many ways a reformer, thought his people guilty of idolatry.¹ So he made a collection of holy pictures, burned them publicly and told the people to adore God alone.² In burning valuable pictures he was guilty of foolish and wasteful conduct. Nor could he have burned more than a few. Coptic churches are still full of old pictures. But he would have found his Dyophysite brother at Rome in warm agreement with his warning. We, too, have learned that we may not adore these things, for they can neither see, nor hear, nor help us. Lastly, the Copts are vague about the Canon of Scripture. They include in it, besides our books,³ the Epistle of Barnabas, Hermas, Clement of Rome, various Clementine and other strange apocryphas.⁴

From all this we see that, except for their Monophysism (which is, of course, the great question of all), the Copts in matters of faith occupy much the same position as the Orthodox. They differ from Catholics in little except Monophysism, rejection of the Papacy, and perhaps the procession of the Holy Ghost. I do not think that their characteristic heresy occupies nearly as large a place in their consciousness now as it did in that of Dioscor and the Cat. The cause they stand for with ardour is rather the existence of their National Church, their customs and traditions, and a vehement rejection of the Pope, whom they look upon as a foreign tyrant who wants to make them all his slaves, to Latinize them and oppress their Patriarch.

3. Churches, Ornaments, Vestments

We have noted (p. 252) that Coptic archæology is a special and an important subject. It is indeed to this that the present sect owes its importance. Archæologists recognize that the art, architecture and customs of the Copts are not merely a subdivision of Byzantine archæology; they are an independent stream full of

¹ He had been educated in Mr. Lieder's Protestant School (p. 258, n. 3).

² Mrs. Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 398-399.

³ They admit, of course, the deutero-canonical books.

⁴ F. Scrivener: *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. Test.* (4th ed. London, 1894), 91-144. J. M. Fuller: "Coptic Church" in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biography* (London, 1877), i. 664-686.

its own interest, in many ways coming down unchanged from an older type than that of the Eastern Empire, in some a living

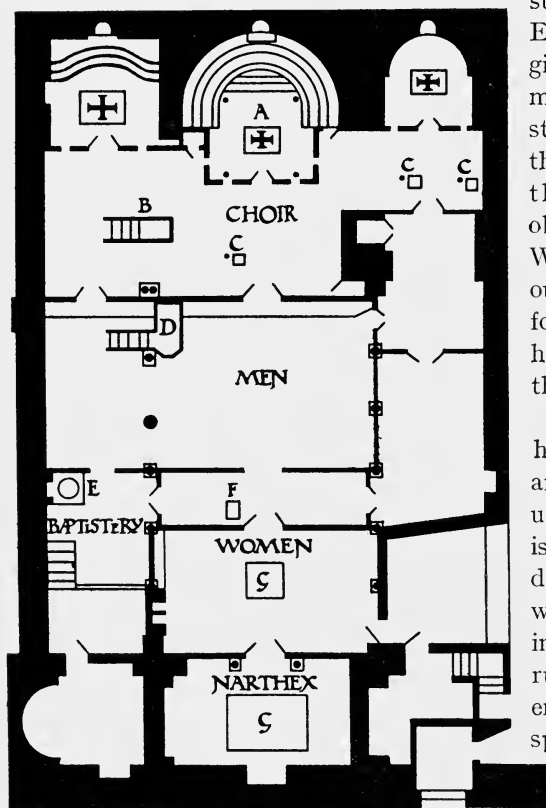


FIG. 6.—PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ABU SARGAH
AT OLD CAIRO.

A, High altar; B, Stairs to crypt; C, C, C, Lecterns;
D, Pulpit; E, Font; F, Patriarch's throne; G, G, Tanks.

survival of ancient Egypt. Egyptologists are more and more disposed to study the Copts as the descendants of the people who obeyed Pharaoh.¹ What follows is an outline of such information as may help to understand their services.

A Coptic church has no external architectural features. Outside there is no sign of the domes and apses which you see within, nor even (as a rule) of the existence of a large open space. It is externally

a jumble of buildings in no order; rooms for the clergy and their families,

sometimes shops, crowd around the church and hide it from without. You go in by an inconspicuous door and are surprised to find yourself in a large and handsome church. This elaborate care to conceal their buildings outside speaks eloquently of the centuries of persecution. The church is practi-

¹ A. J. Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* contains a mass of information about Coptic archæology. A. Gayet: *L'Art Copte* (Paris, 1902).

cally never cruciform.¹ It is a long hall, generally divided by two rows of columns into a nave and aisles. Over these columns may be either an entablature or arches. Above the aisles are large triforia, where once the women prayed. Now these are generally disused or walled off from the church to form apartments for the priests' families. The churches are always orientated, the altars being at the east. At the west is first a narthex, once used for catechumens, penitents, and for certain offices. Now it is rarely used. In some churches it contains a great tank; not the font, but the place where the blessing of the waters on the Epiphany takes place. There is often a smaller tank for ablutions before entering, as one sees in front of mosques. Inside, the church is divided into three parts by screens across it from north to south. We come first to the nave. Here are divisions, sometimes light open screens, making a special place for women. They occur in various directions and are wanting in the desert monastic churches, to which a woman would hardly come. In the nave sometimes stands a throne for the Patriarch. Beyond the nave is the choir, generally raised a step. This is sometimes cut off by a screen, generally of open lattice-work, often adorned with holy pictures. The pulpit, a longer platform than we see in the West, stands on the north side, just without the choir. Beyond the choir we come to the sanctuary, which they called *Haikal*.² This is again often raised a step, and generally (not always) has a screen across it. The haikal screen corresponds to the Byzantine ikonostasion, except that it does not carry a mass of pictures. It is a solid wall of wood, generally beautifully carved and inlaid with mother-of-pearl in geometric patterns. It has three doors opening inwards towards the sanctuary; in front of them hang curtains; over them are Coptic or Arabic inscriptions. The pious Copt who visits a church goes up to the haikal screen, prostrates himself and kisses the hem of the curtain. The haikal always has three altars in a line. This marks a chief difference between Coptic and Byzantine churches. The Byzantine church has only one altar. In the Coptic Church the side altars are real altars, dedicated to saints, used for the holy liturgy once a year, on the saint's feast.

¹ Mr. Butler found only two churches with a transept; *op. cit.* i. 22.

² The usual Arabic name for "temple."

Behind each altar is an apse.¹ At least over the central altar is nearly always a low cupola ; often there are other cupolas over

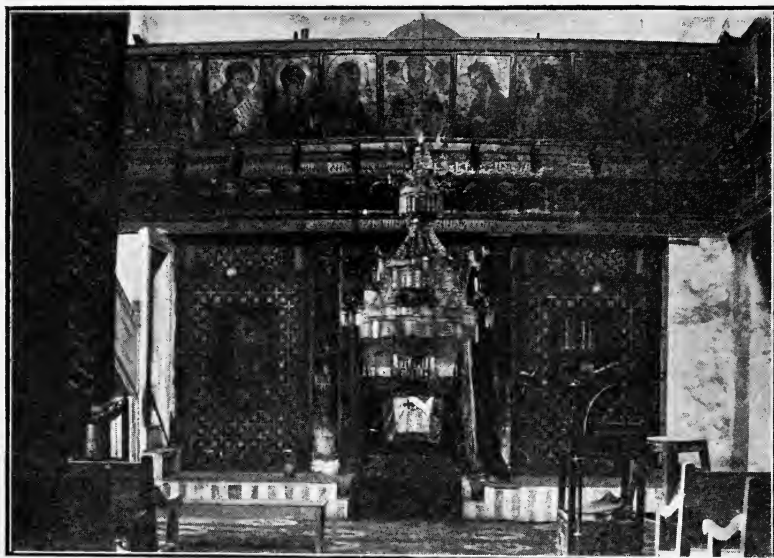


FIG. 7.—CHURCH OF ST. MERCURIUS (ABU SAIFAIN) AT OLD CAIRO.
THE IKONOSTASION.

the side altars, or down the nave. Round the apses behind the altars are benches for the clergy. All the church is full of paintings and mosaic. Coptic mosaic is an exceedingly beautiful thing. Unlike the Byzantine kind, it is not made of coloured glass nor of opus sectile. It consists of coloured marbles and mother-of-pearl in geometric patterns. There is nearly always a niche in the apses, sometimes painted with a figure of our Lord, before which a lamp burns. These niches are not used for any purpose ; they look curiously like the mihrab in a mosque. High up in the apse are frescoes or paintings of our Lord and the twelve apostles. Along the top of the haikal screen you see our Lady with her Child and other saints ; over the central door of the choir-

¹ These apses, each with its altar, form really two separate side chapels, one on either side of the central sanctuary containing the high altar.

screen is a crucifixion and on either side are saints. The columns and walls are adorned with paintings of saints or with pictures

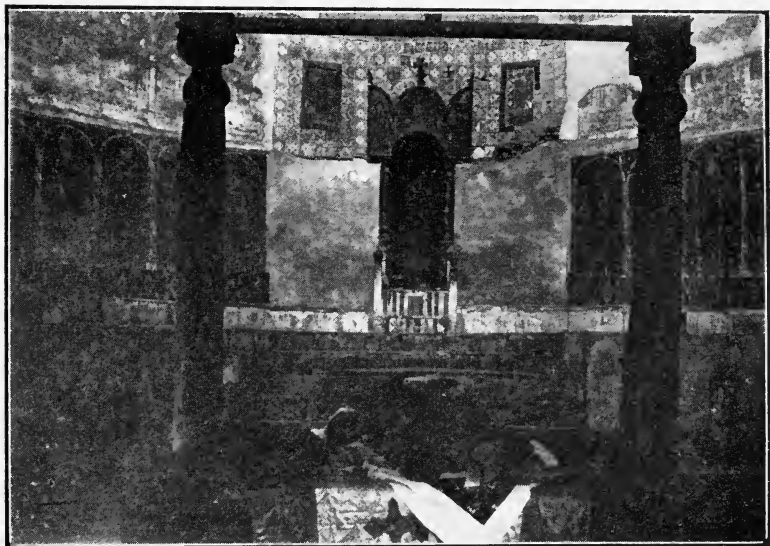


FIG. 8.—CHURCH OF ST. MERCURIUS (ABU SAIFAIN) AT OLD CAIRO.
THE HAIKAL.

hung up. Coptic painting has a manner of its own, which many artists prefer to Byzantine work. The pictures never have the shield of metal, pierced for the face and hands, which protects Byzantine ikons. They are generally painted on a gold background. You may see the Blessed Virgin holding her Son, in a manner which suggests vaguely the picture at St. Mary Major. You see venerable pontiffs with long white beards, dressed in Coptic vestments and holding a book, or St. George charging along on a white horse killing his dragon.¹

The altar is a large cube of stone, or built up of bricks, standing free from any wall, hollowed out underneath, with an opening behind (to the east). This was once the tomb for relics ; now it is

¹ Examples of Coptic painting may be seen in the frontispiece of Mr. Butler's second volume. In modern churches one often sees Byzantine (Russian) eikons. The vestments in these proclaim their origin.

empty. The modern Copts do not put their relics under the altar, but keep them sewn up in what look like bolsters about the church, mostly under the pictures of the saints. The altar has a sunk space on its table into which a wooden board is let. This board is consecrated separately; it corresponds to the Byzantine antimension, and is in fact a portable altar.¹ In case of necessity it may be used on a common table for the holy liturgy. At least over the high altar there is always a ciborium—a cupola of wood on four columns. The altar is consecrated with chrism in an elaborate rite. It is covered all over with a cloth of silk or cotton, dyed any colour and brocaded or embroidered. At least during the liturgy there must be a second cloth over this. On the altar stand two candles only, though others may stand around, and lamps often hang from the ciborium. No cross stands on the altar; but a small hand cross, used for blessing, lies on it, with the gospel-book and vessels used in the liturgy. In the haikal stands a reading-desk, and by it a large candlestick, from which the thurible sometimes hangs. The desk is often a very beautiful specimen of wood-carving and inlaid mother-of-pearl.² It has a cupboard underneath, in which the books are kept. The baptistery with the font (a large basin not unlike ours) forms a side-chapel, which may be placed almost anywhere, leading out from the body of the church. In the church hang crowns, which support many candles and a number of lamps. As in most Eastern churches, a common ornament is real or artificial ostrich eggs hanging from the roof. Strange as they seem to us, these eggs form a very decorative feature. Often other churches open out from the main church, each having its complete arrangement of choir, haikal and three altars. So a large Coptic church is often a labyrinth of strange, dark chambers. The Copts once had church bells; some belfries and even a few bells still remain. But the Moslem law forbade their use; so for many centuries they have used a *Semantron* (a wooden board or metal plate struck

¹ So the Coptic altar is the exact reverse of our wooden *altare portatile*. This is a wooden frame supporting an altar-stone; they have a stone frame supporting a wooden board.

² In Mr. Butler's book (*op. cit.* ii. 66–67) may be seen illustrations of the reading-desk and candlestick in the Patriarchal church (itself a dull modern building) at Cairo.

with a hammer) instead. But in the church they strike bells as part of the accompaniment of their singing.

The instruments used in the liturgy are the chalice, paten (disk), aster (called "dome" in Arabic),¹ spoon. These are the same as in the Byzantine rite.² The ark³ is a square wooden box which just holds the chalice; at the consecration the chalice stands in this box.⁴ They have several round veils⁵ and a larger corporal⁶ with which they cover the oblata during the liturgy. Their fans (like Byzantine rhipidia) are not now generally used to fan the Holy Eucharist, but are carried as ornaments in processions. North of the altar on a low stand are the basin and ewer with which the celebrant washes his hands. They have gospel-books, which are carried about and kissed, but cannot be read, because they are so bound, or rather nailed up, in costly metal covers that they cannot be opened. This was done originally, no doubt, to preserve a specially precious copy. Now there seems to be some doubt as to what is really contained in these closed covers. Mr. Butler says that some, on being opened, were found to contain nothing but a few tattered pages and some fragments of silk.⁷ But when the gospel is read in the liturgy, such a closed book is still brought with great honour and placed on a stand with lighted candles around it. The deacon standing by it reads the gospel from a modern copy which he can open.

There has been a great discussion about Coptic vestments. Abū Daḩn,⁸ Vansleb,⁹ Renaudot,¹⁰ Denzinger¹¹ give accounts which are not consistent. Mr. Butler quotes all these at length, discusses their differences, and then gives an elaborate account of each vestment, with illustrations, according to information gathered from Coptic priests.¹² His erudition and laborious care deserve recognition.¹³ But it is all rather superfluous. What

¹ Ḳubbah.

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, 408-409.

³ Ar.: Kursī; Copt.: Pitote.

⁴ Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 42-43.

⁵ Ar.: Ḥaṣīrah; Copt.: Pithom.

⁶ Ar.: Laḩāfah; Copt.: Prosfarin.

⁷ *Op. cit.* ii. 59.

⁸ *Historia Iacobitarum*, pp. 143-150.

⁹ *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* 60.

¹⁰ *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* i. 161-163.

¹¹ *Ritus Orientalium*, i. 130.

¹² *Op. cit.* ii. chap. iv.-v. pp. 97-23.

¹³ It may be noted that throughout his two volumes (*Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*) Mr. Butler gives the reader much more than his title promises. In every detail he tells you all about parallel customs among the Orthodox, Armenians, all other Eastern Churches, and even about

emerges finally is that Coptic vestments are, with slight differences, the same as those of the Byzantine rite. The differences are hardly greater than in the shape and use of Roman vestments in the West. This is true of all Eastern rites. We may say, once for all, that the vestments we know as Byzantine¹ are, with slight local variations, common to all Eastern Churches. The Coptic forms are as follows :

They are of any colour and almost any material. In poorer churches one sees cheap calicoes with dreadful sprawling flowers printed all over them ; richer vestments are of silk (more usually satin) or velvet with gold and silver embroideries or braid. White with coloured patterns, pink and red are favourite colours ; but sky-blue, apple-green, mauve, are not uncommon. In general, modern Levantine taste is very bad. They see no incongruity in the tawdriest designs and flimsiest material. One of the shocks the Western traveller must expect is to see a venerable Pontiff chanting his ancient liturgy vested in calico covered with large pink roses. The remains of ancient Coptic vestments often show exceedingly beautiful embroidery in colours, all the more exquisite because it is faded and tarnished.

The deacon wears a sticharion (our alb, but coloured)² with a girdle (the Byzantine ζωνάριον),³ which is not a rope, but a belt of coloured stuff (silk or velvet) with clasps. From his left shoulder hangs a stole (ὤράριον).⁴ During the liturgy he winds this around his body as does his Orthodox rival. He wears a small round cap.⁵ Clerks and singers also wear a sticharion and a narrower orarion wound around them, again just as in the Byzantine rite. The priest who celebrates wears a rather handsomer sticharion and girdle. But the Coptic priest, unlike the Byzantine, has an amice.⁶ This is the only Coptic vestment unknown to the

Roman and Sarum use. His work is a mine of general information about ecclesiastical antiquities in general. Unfortunately the authorities he quotes (Rock, Marriott, Bloxam, Bock, and my brother E. F. K. Fortescue) are all a little out of date ; so that much of what he says is antiquated.

¹ See, for instance, *Orth. Eastern Church*, 405-408.

² Ar. : tūniyah ; Copt. : potūrion, mappa. Butler, ii. 109-117.

³ Ar. : zunnār ; Copt. : zounarion. Butler, ii. 124-127.

⁴ Ar. : baṭrashīl ; Copt. : ḏrarion, ṣhordion. Butler, ii. 127-143.

⁵ Illustrated in Butler, ii. 211.

⁶ Ar. : shamlah, ṭailasān ; Copt. : ballīn, efouti. Butler, ii. 117-124.

Orthodox. It is much larger than our amice, made of white linen embroidered with two large crosses. One end hangs down the back, the other is wound round the head to form a hood. The priest's stole, though called by the same name as that of the deacon, is exactly the Byzantine epitachelion. The two ends are sewn together to form a wide band which hangs down in front, while he puts his head through the loop left at the top.¹ He wears epimanikia² on his arms, and over all a phainolion or chasuble.³ In Egypt⁴ the phainolion has gone through the one further step of evolution at which in the Byzantine Church it has not arrived. The Byzantine chasuble reaches to the ground behind; it has been cut away, not as with us at the sides, but in front, so that it is quite short here and forms a mere broad band across the chest. In the other Eastern Churches this band has been cut through, and is joined by a clasp. So their phainolion has become exactly like our cope without a hood. They use it as both chasuble and cope (not only for the holy liturgy); but historically it is the old planeta, our chasuble. Copts have no epigonation.⁵ The priest does not now wear a cap, since he has an amice. The



FIG. 9.—A COPTIC BISHOP.

bishop wears sticharion, girdle, epitachelion, epimanikia and phainolion.⁶ He has a special amice of coloured silk, embroidered with texts, which he wears when he may not wear his mitre (on Good Friday, in the presence of the Patriarch, etc.). He has a mitre, or rather crown, of metal (silver-gilt),⁷ a

¹ Butler shows a picture of one at p. 130 (vol. ii.).

² Ar.: kamān; Copt.: kamasion. *Op. cit.* ii. 163-172.

³ Ar.: burnus; Copt.: felonion (in Greek the form φαλόνιον is often found), kouklion, amforion. *Op. cit.* 173-200.

⁴ And also among all other Eastern Churches.

⁵ *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 406.

⁶ Now often a sakkos (see fig. 9).

⁷ Ar.: tāg (crown); Copt.: mitra, klam, shrīpi. Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 200-217. Butler (ii. 205) gives an illustration of the present Patriarch's crown,

pectoral cross (ἐγκόλπιον), which should, but now does not, contain relics, also a crozier (δικανίκιον)¹ consisting of a staff with two curving serpents at the top. He may not use his mitre or crozier in the Patriarch's presence. The Patriarch adds to the bishop's vestments only the omophorion.² This is always sewn together in the form of a broad Y. The omophorion is now also worn by other bishops.

These are the official vestments given at ordination, which should be worn during the holy liturgy. But, as a matter of fact, poverty and carelessness dispense with many of them, except on great occasions. In a small church on an ordinary Sunday the celebrant usually wears only the alb, amice and stole, the deacon (if there is one) alb and stole.

4. Liturgical Books

The liturgical language of the national Egyptian Church is Coptic.³ But her prayers were originally in Greek. The Coptic forms show the plainest traces of being translations from Greek, and there remain a very great number of formulas throughout the services which are still said in Greek. No other non-Greek rite is so permeated with Greek influence and phrases as that of the Copts. There is a curious point about these Greek formulas. Not only are quantities of short ejaculations and prayers (such as κύριε ἐλέησον, δόξα σοι κύριε, the Trisagion, Gloria Patri, Sanctus) in Greek, but most commands addressed to the people, which one would expect to be in their language ("Look towards

sent to him as a present by the King of Abyssinia. It has three bands of ornament round the high metal cap, and so shows an accidental resemblance to the Pope's tiara.

¹ Ar.: 'akāz; Copt.: shvōt. *Op. cit.* ii. 217-231.

² Ar.: baṭrashīl, ballīn; Copt.: ὁμοφοριον, pallīn, ballīn. Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 143-162.

³ G. Steindorff: *Koptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. 1904 (Berlin; Reuther u. Reichard: *Porta linguarum orientalium*). An easier grammar to begin with is A. Mallon, S.J.: *Grammaire Copte*, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1907. It is an exceedingly difficult language. Since the 3rd century it is written in Greek characters (of a most beautiful uncial form), with seven additional letters, taken from demotic characters, for sounds which Greek cannot represent. There are five Coptic dialects. The liturgy is in Boḥairic, the old dialect of the Nile Delta, and the most important in every way.

the East," "Bow to the Lord in fear," "Peace to all," "Salute each other with a holy kiss," and so on), are Greek too. This means that such short formulas were so well known and universally understood¹ that it was not worth while to translate them. Moreover, short liturgical formulas always have less tendency to change. In the Coptic rite, all short formulas and dialogues (e.g. "Sursum corda," etc.) and, oddly, most rubrics ("the deacon says," "silently," etc.) remain Greek.

That the Egyptian service was originally Greek follows naturally from the history of Christianity in this country. The Gospel was first preached at Alexandria, a thoroughly Hellenized city. But in the first centuries no one had any idea of a special liturgical language. As the faith spread to the villages of Upper Egypt the same prayers were, as a matter of course, translated into the popular language of the country. The first translators certainly did not think that thereby they were sealing Coptic as a sacred language, and giving it a liturgical life which would last for centuries after it had otherwise died out. A detail of the life of St. Antony, "Father of Abbots," throws light on the date when the liturgy was first celebrated in Coptic. As a young man he heard in church our Lord's words: "If thou wouldst be perfect, go sell what thou hast," etc.,² and, applying them to himself, went to be a hermit.³ Now Antony was no scholar; he was a man of Upper Egypt, living about the middle of the 3rd century. He must have heard that text in Coptic, or he would not have understood it. So at least the gospel was read in Coptic in his time. We are further told that St. Pachomius translated the psalms into Coptic about the year 300;⁴ and there are further indications in Palladius of regular services among the first Egyptian hermits, which must have been in their own language. Certainly the fathers of the desert knew no Greek and did not say their prayers in it. We may take it then, that at least since the 3rd century the liturgy in Egypt was translated into Coptic for the use of the

¹ As the simplest Catholic knows what "Dominus vobiscum," "Sursum corda," etc., mean.

² Matt. xix. 21.

³ St. Athanasius: *Life of St. Antony*, 2 (P.G. xxvi. 841).

⁴ Palladius: *Paradise of the Fathers*, chap. 33 (ed. E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1907, pp. 145-146).

natives. Meanwhile the Hellenized Alexandrines prayed in their language—Greek. Both tongues went on side by side, and nobody seems to have thought the language of prayers of any importance, till the Monophysite schism in the 5th century. Then, when gradually two communities had been formed, there came a natural parting of the ways. The Monophysites were from the beginning the national party ; so they used the national language, till it became their criterion. The Greek Melkites used Greek. Down to the 12th century they kept the old Alexandrine liturgy of St. Mark in Greek, though through their attachment to Constantinople they gradually introduced into it Byzantine elements.¹ Then occurred an outrageous example of Byzantine arrogance. By this time the Œcumenical Patriarch was making himself a very bad imitation of the Pope. He arrogated jurisdiction over the other Orthodox Patriarchs,² and carried his aggression so far that he made them abandon their own enormously more ancient and venerable rites for his modern liturgy. Mark II was Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria from about 1195 to 1200. He came from Constantinople³ and was used to the Byzantine rite. Instigated by Theodore Balsamon, a Greek who was afterwards made Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, he abolished the ancient Egyptian rite. Since his time the Orthodox in Egypt use the foreign and comparatively modern liturgy of Constantinople.⁴ The old Greek liturgy of St. Mark is not now used by anyone.

Under the Arabs their language spread throughout Egypt, and Coptic gradually died out. Already in the 9th century Severus of Al-Ushmunain says that he writes his history of the Patriarchs

¹ For instance, the προσκομιδή, a Great Entrance, and so on.

² His see is the most modern of all Patriarchates, and is not apostolic. From every point of view the Patriarch of Constantinople should be the least of the Patriarchs. His one title to honour is the shamelessly Erastian principle that the Emperor once reigned in his city. The same basis would make Berlin a Patriarchate.

³ Another abuse. Constantinople for centuries foisted its clerks on the old thrones of Antioch and Alexandria. Generally these Greek Patriarchs stayed at Constantinople, not even troubling to visit their sees.

⁴ All the Orthodox now use the Byzantine rite, as a witness of their long servitude under the upstart Byzantine Patriarch. Note that on the other hand the Pope has never tried to force his Roman rite on Catholics of other Patriarchates.

in Arabic because few Egyptians know Greek or Coptic.¹ The language is now quite dead, though one hears doubtfully authentic stories of remote places where Coptic is said to have survived till the 19th century.² Even the priests who say the prayers in Coptic often do not understand a word of the language. Most Coptic service books have a parallel Arabic version. The lessons in the liturgy are read first in Coptic, then in Arabic; so their service includes three languages. The survival of the old Egyptian tongue in the liturgy is an astonishing phenomenon. Mr. Butler says well: "The romance of language could go no further than to join the speech of Pharaoh and the writing of Homer in the service-book of an Egyptian Christian."³

The Coptic service-books are not clearly defined. The rite for each service is fixed; but various services may be given in different arrangements in various books. This want of recognized compilations (such as our missal, breviary, ritual) is common to most Eastern Churches. However, the usual books are: The Euchologion,⁴ containing the celebrant's parts for the liturgies and for other sacraments and blessings; the Diakonikon⁵ for the deacon; and the Ḳutmārus,⁶ containing lessons for all services. There is sometimes a special Gospel-book. The Synaxarion⁷ gives the lessons from lives of saints read in the morning service, and on some occasions in the liturgy (p. 283). The hymns and chants are contained in many collections, those to our Lady in the Theotokia,⁸ others in the Difnari⁹ and the Doxology. The Psalter, of course, contains the psalms. Then there is a multitude of excerpts and rearrangements. A church will possess, for instance, separate books giving the prayers and rites for ordinations, funerals, confession, baptism, consecration

¹ *History of the Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts, p. 17.

² In the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache u. Altertumskunde* for 1901 J. E. Quibell wrote an article ("Wann starb das Koptische aus?" p. 87), maintaining that there were villages in which Coptic was still spoken at the end of the 19th century.

³ *Ancient Coptic Churches*, ii. 247.

⁴ Ar.: ḥulāgī; Copt.: euchologion.

⁵ Ar.: Kitāb ash-shamāmisah.

⁶ κατὰ μέρος.

⁷ Ar.: sinaksār; Copt.: synaxar.

⁸ See p. 278.

⁹ ἀντιφωνάριον.

of churches or altars or fonts.¹ The Coptic Patriarch in 1868 gave the Bishop of Salisbury a book containing the rite for consecrating an altar and Epiphany tank.² The service-books of the Monophysites are now being arranged and edited in splendid form by Mr. Gladios Labib,³ a wealthy Copt who is doing much for the good of his Church.

5. Coptic Services

The Copts have a divine office divided into these hours : Mid-night (μεσονύκτιον, matins) ; Dawn (6 a.m. ὄρθρος, lauds—more or less) ; the third hour (9 a.m.) ; the sixth hour (midday) ; the ninth hour (3 p.m.) ; evening service (at sunset, ἑσπερινόν, vespers) ; night service (before going to bed, ἀπόδειπνον, compline). These consist of psalms, prose hymns, lessons, prayers.⁴ Only monks say the whole office. An idea of its arrangement can be got from Lord Bute's *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*.⁵ They have a special long office of our Lady called *Theotokia*.⁶ There is a special one for each day in the week. It consists of four parts : 1, *Psali*, an invitation addressed to the people, calling on them to sing the praises of the Mother of God ; 2, the *Theotokia* proper (Arabic, tadākiyah), a long hymn to her arranged in chapters ; 3, *Lōbsh* (roof), an explanation of what has been sung, completing it, as a roof completes a house—this always ends with a prayer ; 4, *Tarḥ* (cry, interpretation), an explanation and compendium of all in Arabic. This is not said, but may be studied by people who know no Coptic while the service is going on. They now sing the *Theotokia* only during the month

¹ See, for instance, the list of books in a church near Luksor in Butler : *op. cit.* ii. 258–259.

² Edited and translated by G. Horner (London, 1902). The Uniate Copts have more systematic arrangements, modelled on our missal, breviary, etc. See a list of the books of both Uniates and Monophysites in Mallon : *Grammaire Copte*, pp. 265–267.

³ Labib's *Kutmārus* is published in four quarto volumes at Cairo, 1900–1902 ; his *Euchologion*, *ib.* 1904 (8vo) ; Funeral rite, *ib.* 1905.

⁴ Cf. Vansleb : *Hist. de l'Égl. d'Alex.* pp. 65–71.

⁵ Translated into English, London, 1908.

⁶ Plur. of *θεοτοκίον*, but used in Coptic as a singular.

of Hoiak (December). Often they sing those for the whole week on Saturday evening, and stay all night in church.¹

Coptic boys are circumcised on the eighth day after birth, but no religious idea is attached to this. Circumcision after baptism is now strictly forbidden.² Boys are baptized forty days, girls eighty days after birth. It is a long ceremony. They are immersed thrice, and confirmed immediately with chrism by the priest. A liturgy should follow, during which the child receives Holy Communion. If it is too young to receive both kinds, the priest dips his finger in the consecrated wine and moistens its lips.³ Confession is taught plainly in theory. In practice it has become rare; though a pious Copt always goes to confession before marriage and (if he can) when dying.⁴ Marriage should take place immediately before a liturgy, at which husband and wife communicate. Both are anointed and crowned.⁵ There are special ordination forms for the Patriarch, bishops, *kummuṣ* (p. 257), priests, archdeacons, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, and a blessing for making a monk. Copts appear to consider these all on the same level, having no clear idea of a special (sacramental) character in the case of bishop, priest, and deacon. We have mentioned the election of the Patriarch (p. 254). His ordination involves long ceremonies. It should take place at the Church of St. Mark at Alexandria, during the holy liturgy. The senior bishop presides, and lays his right hand on the head of the elect in silence; then he and all other bishops lay on both hands and say the ordination prayer. The Patriarch is proclaimed, and everyone cries *ἄγιος*. The Gospel-book is laid on his head, he is vested in his robes, all other bishops take off their crowns. He continues the liturgy himself.⁶ All other bishops are ordained by the

¹ See A. Mallon, S. J.: "Les Théotokies" in the *Rev. de l'Orient chrét.* 1904, pp. 17-31. De Lacy O'Leary: *The Daily Office and Theotokia of the Coptic Church* (Simpkin, Marshall, 1911), translates all, and gives an excellent idea of the arrangement of the Coptic Divine office.

² The idea being that this would be a return to the Old Law after Christianity. There have been heated controversies on this point (see p. 242).

³ A. Evetts: *The Rites of the Coptic Church* (D. Nutt, 1888); translation of the baptism and marriage services. Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches*, ii. 262-274. ⁴ *Ib.* ii. 298-300. ⁵ *Ib.* ii. 323-326; Evetts: *op. cit.*

⁶ Renaudot: *Ritus ordinationis Alex. iacobitarum patr.* (*Lit. Orient. Coll.* i. 441-468); Vansleb: *op. cit.* pp. 162-169; Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 302-312.

Patriarch,¹ who lays his hands on their head. The assisting bishops lay theirs on the shoulders of the elect. The Patriarch breathes on him saying: "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins, etc." The ordained is vested.² Priests are ordained by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and are then vested by him. A priest who becomes a *ḡummuṣ* is made one by much the same rite, exactly like ordination.³ The archdeacon and deacon are ordained by laying on hands, not the sub-deacon and reader. The deacon receives the Eucharistic spoon as the symbol of his office,⁴ the sub-deacon a lighted candle.⁵

The anointing of the sick has curious features. It should be done, if possible, by seven priests. The matter is oil from a holy lamp.⁶ To procure this, little lamps with places for seven wicks are specially made.⁷ One of these is placed before a picture of a saint; prayers are said, each priest lights a wick in turn. While it burns, there are more prayers and a gospel is read. Then the sick man is anointed with the oil. This service can only take place in church; if the man is too sick to come himself he sends a friend as a substitute, who receives the sacrament in his name.⁸

¹ Remember that in the East the man who ordains you acquires thereby jurisdiction over you.

² Silbernagl: *op. cit.* p. 287; Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 312-318.

³ Except (a theologian would say) that the different prayers make all the difference. The ordination prayer is (in our language) the "form" which determines the meaning of the imposition of hands (for a father may lay his hand on his son's head, asking God to bless him). Now a prayer that a deacon may be made a priest is a "form" of the Sacrament of Holy Orders. A prayer that a priest may become a *ḡummuṣ* is not, since the *ḡummuṣ* is no part of the hierarchy founded by Christ. So the Coptic bishop when he makes a priest administers a sacrament; when he makes a *ḡummuṣ* he only gives a sacramental. And this may be true, even if he himself has no clear idea of the difference.

⁴ Not a Gospel-book. The connection between deacon and gospel has never been quite so clear in the East as it became in the West. At bottom all lessons could be (and once were) read by a lector (Fortescue: *The Mass*, 280-281).

⁵ For all these orders see Vansleb: *op. cit.* 162-190; Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 318-322. There is no evidence of chrism being used at any Coptic ordination.

⁶ Anointing with oil from a lamp which has burned before a holy picture, or in church, is an old form of blessing in the East. See, for instance, Ignatius: *Vita Tarasii*, ed. Heikel (Helsingfors, 1891), pp. 421, 436.

⁷ See the picture of one in Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 76.

⁸ Butler: ii. 326-329.

The most important and the most interesting rite of the Coptic Church is naturally the Eucharistic Liturgy.¹ We have seen that the parent-rite of Egypt is the now disused Greek St. Mark. The Coptic liturgies began as translation of this. They have three alternative forms. The pro-anaphoral part (to "Sursum corda," which begins the anaphora) is common to all three. This is merely a Coptic version of the St. Mark rite, with certain variants.² Its normal anaphora is headed: "of the most blessed Mark or of the holy Cyril,"³ that is Cyril of Alexandria. It is generally referred to as St. Cyril; but the anaphora, too, is only the Coptic form of the St. Mark rite.⁴ Then they have two other foreign anaphoras, one ascribed to St. Gregory (Nazianzene), which has the almost unique peculiarity of being addressed to Christ throughout;⁵ the other (of St. Basil) is a shortened and adapted form of the Byzantine Basil Liturgy.⁶ Both of these are also from the Greek; both were once used in Greek by the Orthodox. It is then clear that, historically, the anaphora of Cyril or Mark is the most important. This is the old Alexandrine anaphora in its Coptic form; but it is now rarely used. The ordinary Coptic liturgy consists of the invariable pro-anaphora (of St. Mark) with the anaphora of St. Basil. Their Euchologion prints this first. Then follow the two alternative anaphoras: St. Gregory, used three times a year (at midnight on Christmas, Epiphany, Easter), and St. Cyril, used in theory during Advent (the little fast) and Lent (the great fast).⁷ Mr. Brightman, rightly from the student's point of view, gives this Cyril anaphora. But as here we intend to describe usual modern Coptic practice, we will suppose the Basil anaphora.

¹ Ar.: *ḳurbān*; Copt.: *prosfora*.

² In some ways it represents the old Alexandrine rite better than the Greek form, which has been considerably Byzantinized (p. 276).

³ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 164.

⁴ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 144-188; Renaudot: *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* i. 38-51.

⁵ One Maronite anaphora also has this feature. For the text of Coptic St. Gregory see Renaudot: *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* i. 25-37.

⁶ *Ib.* 1-25 (joined to the common pro-anaphora).

⁷ It seems that in practice the Cyril anaphora is now only used once a year, on the Friday before Palm Sunday (Lord Bute: *Coptic Morning Service*, p. ii).

The holy liturgy should be celebrated every Sunday, greater feast-day, and on special occasions such as weddings, ordinations, and so on. Only one liturgy may be celebrated on any altar on one day; nor may the holy vessels and instruments be used more than once a day. The bread is leavened, made the same morning in flat round cakes about an inch thick and three inches in diameter. It is stamped with nine crosses, and around them the Trisagion (in Greek).¹ Three are baked; the celebrant chooses one for consecration, the others become the antidoron (p. 285). There is some uncertainty about the wine. During the worst periods of Moslem persecution it was forbidden under severe penalties to ferment any wine at all in Egypt. It seems that from that time the use of unfermented grape-juice for the liturgy began. Butler says roundly: "The Eucharistic wine is unfermented."² This is a mistake. At any rate, now they make a liquid of dried raisins and leave it to ferment. Fermented raisin-juice is wine, and would satisfy our condition of validity.³

The holy liturgy is celebrated in the morning, generally at about seven o'clock. It should follow the office of the third hour. The celebrant, and all who receive Communion, must be fasting since midnight. On the altar stand all the vessels required; the chalice is put in the ark (p. 271), where it stands till the Communion; the two candles are lighted; the haikal doors are open and the curtain is drawn back during the whole liturgy. While the choir finishes the office,⁴ the celebrant and deacon see that all is ready and say preparatory prayers. The celebrant chooses the loaf to be consecrated (called the "Lamb") and washes his hands. The deacon bears the

¹ See the illustration in Butler: *op. cit.* ii. 278, who points out that Neale's picture (*Holy Eastern Church*, vol. v. 214, copied from Denzinger: *Ritus Orient.* i. 81) is incorrect.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 281.

³ I believe that in Upper Egypt they sometimes use fermented date-juice, which we, of course, should deny to be valid matter.

⁴ In small churches there is no choir; the people sing the responses. In practice the celebrant, deacon, and one or two more learned laymen get through the office at a tremendous pace, then begin the preparation of the liturgy. There is often no deacon. So the celebrant takes his part too, and manages as best he can with help from people standing round. They are all very careless, and often ignorant what to do next. They stop and argue about it at the top of their voices in excited Arabic. I have seen men finishing their cigarettes in church after the liturgy has begun.

wine in a cruet; they veil the offerings and process with them round the altar, while the choir sing an anthem. A little water is mixed with the wine, the offerings are placed on the altar and blessed. All this corresponds to the Byzantine Great Entrance, but takes place before the Liturgy of the Catechumens. Then follows the Enarxis, offertory prayers and a prayer for forgiveness of sins.¹ Here begins the Liturgy of the Catechumens. The celebrant incenses the offerings, the altar, the church and the people. The deacon says a short litany, praying for the whole Church, the Patriarch and the people. The lessons follow. There should be four: one from St. Paul, one from the Catholic Epistle, one from Acts (or a saint's life from the Synaxar), and a Gospel. But the second is often left out. The deacon should read all. When there is no deacon the celebrant reads them. But sometimes he cannot read (he knows the Coptic prayers by heart, often not understanding them, unless he has studied the parallel Arabic version in his book); in this case, any educated layman reads. Often no one knows what should be read, so they squabble over it in vociferous Arabic. A prayer is said after the first two lessons; before the Gospel the Trisagion is sung.² Each lesson is followed at once by a short verse sung (*προκείμενον*, gradual), and is then read in Arabic. During the lessons the thurible is swung all the time. While the Trisagion is sung a procession is formed with the sealed Gospel-book³ (Little Entrance); while the deacon reads everyone takes off his *ṭarbūsh* (which all Easterns wear in church), and the celebrant waves the thurible towards the book continuously. A prayer follows, then sometimes a sermon or the proclamation of notices. The catechumens are no longer dismissed by a formula.⁴ Here follows the Liturgy of the Faithful. There is a "Prayer of the Veil,"⁵ the deacon sings a litany, the Nicene Creed (in a plural form:

¹ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 144-149.

² In Greek, with the famous alleged Monophysite clause: "who wast crucified for us" (p. 190). Throughout the liturgy many portions are in Greek (p. 274).

³ P. 271. The procession goes with lights to the lectern outside the *haikal* (all lessons are read here).

⁴ Brightman: *op. cit.* 150-158.

⁵ While the bread and wine are unveiled.

"We believe") is said by all, and the kiss of peace is given.¹ So we come to the anaphora (of Basil).² The deacon cries out : "Come, stand with fear, look towards the East. Let us attend." *Celebrant* : "Mercy, peace and a sacrifice of praise. The Lord be with you." *R.* : "And with thy spirit." *Celebrant* : "Lift up your hearts." *R.* : "We have (them) to the Lord." *Celebrant* : "Let us give thanks to God." *R.* : "Right and just." *Celebrant* : "Right and just, etc." The people sing the Sanctus, and the celebrant takes up the idea in a prayer like the Gallican "Vere sanctus." The words of Institution soon follow, the people interspersing them with *Amens*. Incense is swung meanwhile, lighted tapers are held around the altar, and everyone uncovers his head. At the words of Institution the bread is broken into three parts. After them, after our Lord's command to do as he had done,³ the people answer : "We announce thy death, O Lord, and we confess thy resurrection." Then comes the Epiklesis : "We sinners, thy unworthy servants, pray thee, Christ our God, and we adore thee by the favour of thy goodness, that thy Holy Spirit come upon us and upon these offered gifts, that he may hallow them and make them thy holy of holies."⁴ *R.* : "Amen." *Priest* : "And that he should make this bread (he shall sign it thrice with the cross) the holy body (he shall bow his head and point to the body with his hand) of the same Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for the forgiveness of sins and eternal life to him who receives it." *R.* : "Amen." The corresponding form (with the same rubrics) follows for the chalice.⁵ Then comes the Intercession, a litany said by the deacon with a prayer by the celebrant after each clause.⁶ There is a long list of saints, including many

¹ *Ib.* 158-163. The "kiss" takes the form of touching each other's hands.

² Here we part company with Brightman, who gives the Cyril anaphora.

³ Quoted in an expanded form ; Renaudot, i. 15.

⁴ The rubric directs : "Meanwhile the priest shall have his hands stretched out and lifted up, praying for the descent (of the Holy Ghost)." Notice the comparatively rare feature that the Invocation-prayer is addressed to Christ.

⁵ Renaudot, i. 15-16. This Epiklesis (of the Coptic Basil liturgy) is clearly modelled on that of the Byzantine Basil ; Brightman : *op. cit.* 330.

⁶ So this originally foreign anaphora does not show the typical note of the Egyptian rite, namely, the Intercession before the Consecration, as in Coptic St. Mark (Brightman, 165-175). See Fortescue : *The Mass* (Longmans, 1912), p. 96.

Egyptian martyrs (under the Romans) and fathers of the desert ; then the diptychs of the dead. The fraction and intinction follow. The consecrated bread is broken into five portions, which are arranged on the paten in the form of a cross. Of these the central portion, a large square, is called the Isbodikon,¹ and is reserved for the communion of the celebrant and clergy. Intinction is made by the celebrant dipping his finger in the consecrated wine and marking a cross with it on the holy bread. The Lord's Prayer is chanted by all, the celebrant alone saying its introduction and embolism. A further memory of the living and dead follows ; then he elevates the Isbodikon, holding it aloft as he comes to the door of the haikal, and says : " Holy things for the holy." The people cry : " Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." After this he puts the Isbodikon into the chalice. Here he says the prayer " I confess " already quoted (p. 263). In its latter part (not quoted above) there is a Monophysite clause.² He receives Communion, gives it to the clergy and people. The laity receive both kinds together (intincted) with a spoon. Men come into the haikal ; the celebrant goes down to the women at the haikal doors. The clergy consume what is left of the Blessed Sacrament, and one or two prayers of thanksgiving are said. None of the three Coptic liturgies give a formula of dismissal, such as is usually said by the deacon. If a bishop be present, he washes his hands in water which he then sprinkles over the people.³ Lastly, the unconsecrated loaves are distributed as blessed bread.⁴ The liturgy lasts from an hour and a half to two hours. The people do not kneel ;⁵ they stand to pray and, as a special sign of reverence, prostrate themselves.

Coptic Church music has systems of its own which have hardly

¹ A Coptic corruption of *δεσποτικὸν* (*σῶμα*).

² Renaudot : *op. cit.* i. 23.

³ This rudimentary form of holy water is common among the Copts.

⁴ The *ἀντίδορον* or *εὐλόγια*, common to all Eastern rites, as once in the West and still in France. Descriptions of the liturgy, not in every detail agreeing with this, may be read in Butler : *op. cit.* ii. 275-297 ; Beth : *op. cit.* 408-413. All Eastern rites, especially those of the smaller and more backward Churches, are liable to a certain amount of variation. Neither the books nor local practice are quite uniform.

⁵ Copts never kneel, except (I think) during Lent.

yet been studied. The notes are not written down ¹ but are handed on by experts, generally blind singers. This leads to considerable variation in form. Grace-notes and ornamental modifications are added *ad libitum*. Where there is no choir the people sing; they appear familiar with the general form of the tune, but everyone adds little ornaments of his own, and they do not at all mind not keeping together. Their tunes are obviously enharmonic, and abound in the augmented second.² I regret to say that the influence of British brass bands and French gramophones begins to effect a certain tendency towards diatonic, or at least chromatic notes, and an appalling inclination to sharpen the last note but one. It would be well to obtain some record of their traditional melodies before they have reverted all into our minor scale with a sharpened leading note.³ But so far this tendency seems to obtain only in Cairo and Alexandria. In the villages you may still hear the real thing. They have, of course, no organs; but they accompany their singing by ringing bells and clashing cymbals, with the strangest effect.

People rarely go to Communion, generally once a year, at Easter or thereabouts (practically during Lent). The Copts certainly once reserved the Holy Eucharist for the sick.⁴ Now they no longer do so, and have no kind of tabernacle or vessel for reservation.

The Ecclesiastical Calendar has a peculiar reckoning, the "Era of the Martyrs."⁵ This means from the martyrs of Diocletian's reign. It begins on the 29 of Mesōri (August),⁶ 284, of our calculation. Otherwise they follow the Julian Calendar. This year then (1913) is 1629 of the Martyrs. In civil life they date by

¹ Father Badet, S.J., has collected some in *Les Chants liturgiques des Coptes*, 2 parts, lithographed, Cairo, 1899.

² Cf. Vansleb: *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* pp. 56-58.

³ Badet, on the contrary, thinks that the older Coptic tunes are really diatonic (in seven tones, on re, la, mi, si, fa, do, sol), and that enharmonic intervals come from Arab influence (*op. cit.* pp. v, 24). I am sure this is not possible. The diatonic scale is a purely Western invention.

⁴ See Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 429-430, for evidences of this and for an account of its discontinuation.

⁵ Ar.: Sanat ash-Shahadā.

⁶ The names of the months in Bohairic, Sa'idic and Arabic will be found in Mallon: *Grammaire Copte*, p. 81. For the *Æra Martyrum* see Nilles in the *Innsbrucker Zeitschrift f. Kath. Theol.* 1897, pp. 579 and 732.

the Higrah, or by our Calendar. The ecclesiastical year begins on Tût (September) 1. Feasts are divided into three classes. Seven greater feasts of our Lord,¹ seven lesser feasts of our Lord,² and saints' days. There are many of these. They keep the birth (September 10) and falling asleep (August 16) of the holy Theotókos, the apostles, "St. Antony the Great, star of the desert" (February 22), "St. Athanasius the Apostolic, Patriarch of Alexandria" (May 7), "St. Michael Archangel, and prayer for the rising of the Nile" (June 12), the "Four incorporeal animals" (in Ezechiel, November 8), the "twenty-four elders sitting around the throne of God" (November 24). They also keep feasts of many Monophysite leaders—Severus, Dioscor, and a number of Alexandrine Patriarchs who have little title to canonization other than their opposition to Chalcedon. They have four chief fasts: The great fast (Lent), beginning fifty-two days before Easter, the fast of the Apostles (about forty days before July 5, St. Peter and St. Paul), the fast of the Mother of God (fifteen days before August 16), and the little fast (Advent), from December 1 till Christmas. The fast of Nineveh (in memory of Jonas) lasts three days, about a fortnight before Lent. The fast of Heraclius³ now coincides with the first week in Lent. Their fasting is a very serious matter. Like Ramadân it involves complete abstinence from any food between sunrise and sunset, and when they do eat, abstinence from many things besides flesh-meat.⁴

Throughout the year they have various special rites which occur on special days. On the feast of our Lord's Baptism (the Epiphany, but January 11) they bless the waters—the Nile or

¹ Annunciation, Nativity (December 29), Baptism (January 11), Palms, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost.

² Circumcision (January 6), first miracle (January 13), Presentation (February 8), Last Supper (Maundy Thursday), Sunday of Thomas (first after Easter), Entry into Egypt (May 24), Transfiguration (August 13).

³ According to their legend, because the Christians in Jerusalem promised the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) that, if only he would massacre all the Jews in the city, they would fast for one week every year, till the end of the world, for his benefit. Lured by this bait he carried out their pious wish (Vansleb: *op. cit.* 74-75).

⁴ But delicate people get some slight dispensation. An idea of the Coptic Calendar may be had from Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, ii. 690-724; but what he gives is the Calendar of the Uniates. For fast-days cf. Vansleb: *Hist. de l'Église d'Alex.* pp. 71-77.

the sea if they are near them, otherwise a tank in the narthex of the church (p. 267).¹ Holy Week begins with "Osanna Sunday," when they have a service and procession of palms (which do not lack in Egypt). On Good Friday ("Great Friday") there is a symbolic burial of a crucifix, like the Byzantine Τάφος rite.²

We have noted that the chief interests in the Coptic Church are its memories and its archæology. Its heresy is no longer of acute importance even to Copts themselves. It is maintained by a kind of inertia, because it was so long a national patriotic cause. Nor has a small local sect in one country any great practical importance to-day. But the memories of the old Church of Egypt give it a dignity not shared by many larger and more prosperous Churches in the West. These memories cling wonderfully still to their services, customs, buildings. The Orthodox Church keeps alive the palmy days of the Eastern Empire, from Justinian to 1453. But the ghosts which hover around Coptic altars are older than this. Perhaps nowhere in the world can you imagine yourself back in so remote an age as when you are in a Coptic church. You go into a strange dark building; at first the European needs an effort to realize that it is a church at all, it looks so different from our usual associations. But it is enormously older than the clustered columns, moulded arches and glowing clerestory, than the regular aisles and balanced chapels to which we are accustomed. In a Coptic church you come into low dark spaces, a labyrinth of irregular openings. There is little light from the narrow windows. Dimly you see strange rich colours and tarnished gold, all mellowed by dirt.³ In loops from the vault above hang ropes bearing the white ostrich eggs, and lamps sparkle in the gloom. Before you is the exquisite carving, inlay in delicate patterns, of the haikal screen. All around you see, dusty and confused, wonderful pieces of wood carving.

¹ The rite is given in Lord Bute and E. A. Wallis Budge: *The Blessing of the Waters* (London: H. Frowde, 1901), pp. 102-137.

² The services for Holy Week and Easter are printed in a special book, called Kitāb albaskah.

³ The beautiful dirt of a Coptic church is one of its most picturesque features. If ever English and American missionaries succeed in their feli purpose of making Copts clean their churches, they will destroy their character, and will make them gaudy and hideous, like the Patriarchal church at Cairo. But I do not think there is much danger.

Behind the screen looms the curve of the apse; on the thick columns and along the walls under the low cupolas are inscriptions in exquisite lettering—Coptic and Arabic. The impression is a confusion of dark misty colour, out of which gleam patches of crimson and blue from the paintings—St. George's cloak and our Lady's mantle. If you assist at a liturgy you see the clergy moving in and out of the haikal door in their shabby, gaudy vestments; the incense fills the dark vault with clouds of blue smoke, and the strange wailing goes on with clashing cymbals and jangling bells. They sing chant after chant in the ancient tongue which they do not understand themselves; but the ghosts of their fathers know it, Rameses II would know it, and the heavenly powers whom they address know it. Then, in the same way as the colours of the holy icons gleam from the gloom around, so out of the Coptic come familiar fragments of Greek; suddenly you realize that what they are singing is: "Agios o Theos, agios ischyros, agios athanatos, o stavrotheis di' imas (memory of Peter the Dyer!) eleison imas." So here amid the dirt and the incense smoke, while Coptic and Greek roll around the haikal screen, you may dream of the mighty men who once lived here, Pachomius and Pambo, Antony star of the desert, and Paul, the first hermit, Athanasius fleeing from the sword of Constantius. For the sake of these glorious memories, for the sake, too, of the long line of their martyrs under Islam, we can feel nothing but respect, wish nothing but good to the people of Christ in Egypt. They have stood for his name so faithfully during the long, dark centuries now past. May they stand for it always in happier ages to come. May they confess it (honouring the all-holy Lady Theotókos) no longer, please God, in unhappy isolation, but joined again to the Church which acknowledges him throughout all the world, the evil done to them by Dioscor and the Cat being at last undone. So may God again say: "*Vidi afflictionem populi mei qui est in Aegypto et descendi liberare eos.*"

Summary

The Copts are the Monophysite Church of Egypt. There are over half a million of them, under their Patriarch and about fifteen

other bishops. They have the usual orders of the hierarchy, with a special rank (*kummuṣ*) for higher priests, many monks, and a few nuns. The standard of education among the clergy is low, now raised in some respects, with doubtful advantage, by Protestant missionaries. They cling to their hereditary heresy and still abhor Chalcedon; otherwise there is little to say against their faith. Particularly they pray to saints, for the dead, and have the greatest possible devotion to our Lady. Their churches and services are the most interesting feature of this sect. Their customs are in many ways more archaic than those of Byzantine Christians. Their services are in Coptic (otherwise a dead language), with many formulas in Greek. Their rite is the old rite of Alexandria, attributed to St. Mark; though on most days they use, not the original anaphora, but a later one modelled on the Greek St. Basil. They have a Calendar of their own, reckoned from the "Era of the Martyrs," which is our year 284. Like all Eastern Christians they fast in a way that we should find impossible.

PART III

THE ABYSSINIANS, JACOBITES, AND
MALABAR CHRISTIANS

THESE three, smallest and least important of the lesser Eastern Churches, may be dismissed with shorter descriptions. The Abyssinian Church is really a province of the Monophysite Church of Egypt, sharing its heresy and imitating its customs. The Jacobites are the Monophysites of Egypt, a kind of poor relations of the Copts, never more than a comparatively small and scattered sect. The Malabar people, the one existing remnant of Nestorian missions, have wavered between Nestorians and Monophysites. Their chief interest is their re-union with Rome in the 16th century ; so that they will occupy a greater place in the volume about the Uniates. This part, then, contains sketches of these three Churches.

CHAPTER IX

THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH

FAR south of Egypt, in the heart of East Africa, is the kingdom of black people over whom rules the Negus. Everyone has heard of Abyssinia. We made war on its king, Theodore, in 1867; the British army took Magdala and brought back many curious church vessels, books, pictures and garments, which now adorn the British Museum. Still more recent is the disastrous Italian expedition of 1895, which ended with their defeat and frightful losses at Adua. Most people know, too, that the black warriors of the Negus are Christians. One would hardly hold up their Christianity as a model; nevertheless they are Christians. Out here in the wilds, south of the Red Sea, surrounded by Islam, is a Christian kingdom; the sign which crowns their mountains is the cross; these black Africans on Sunday gather to their churches to offer the same holy sacrifice which the Pope offers at Rome.

I. The Conversion of the Ethiopians

What we know of the history of Ethiopia ¹ begins with its conversion to Christianity. Before that we can only conjecture that a Semitic people crossed the Red Sea from Arabia,² conquered and dominated the native African tribes in the highlands between that sea and the upper Nile. It is a question whether there was any Judaism or Jewish influence among them before they became Christian. It is not impossible. We know that

¹ Ethiopia and Abyssinia are practically convertible terms; see p. 307.

² Their language is nearly akin to Arabic.

Judaism was a considerable power in Arabia before Mohammed ; ¹ the Abyssinians may have taken some traces of it with them into Africa. But, on the whole, there is not enough evidence to justify us in supposing this ; the Judaistic elements in their Christianity can be explained otherwise (p. 319). We may suppose, then, that they were originally Pagans of the usual Semitic kind, polytheists, like their cousins the Arabs before Mohammed.

There are two accounts of the conversion of the Ethiopians.² The one most commonly received, believed by themselves, which, all things considered, remains the most probable, dates it in the time of Constantine, about 330-340. The story is told by Rufinus,³ copied by Theodoret,⁴ Socrates⁵ and Sozomen.⁶ Rufinus calls Ethiopia " India," as do many ancient writers, to the great confusion of their modern readers. He tells the story thus : At the time of Constantine certain philosophers, Metrodorus and Meropius, a man of Tyre, travelled about in the East " for the sake of seeing places and examining the world." Meropius had with him two Tyrian young men, the elder Frumentius and Aedesius the younger, to whom he was tutor. While they were coming back, presumably up the Red Sea, they were attacked by barbarians. Meropius got to his ship and escaped ; but the two boys stayed behind " meditating under a tree and preparing their lessons." So they were caught and taken to the barbarian king. At that time the Ethiopians had established a kingdom with Aksum⁷ as its capital ; they are often called Aksumites. Their king made Aedesius his cup-bearer, and Frumentius whose admirable qualities he soon recognized, his Chancellor. When the king died, leaving two infant sons, Frumentius and Aedesius become governors in their name. They were Christians, and began to preach the faith. The two princes, named Abrehā and

¹ The Himyarite kingdom in the Yaman was Jewish.

² The eunuch of Queen Candace (Acts viii. 26-39) plays less part in Ethiopic legend than one would expect.

³ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 9 (P.L. xxi. 478-480).

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 22 (P.G. lxxxii. 969-972).

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 19 (P.G. lxvii. 125-130).

⁶ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 24 (*ib.* 995-1000).

⁷ Aksum, the first centre of Ethiopic Christianity and the Metropolitan See of Abyssinia, is in the Tigre country, among the high mountains in the north of the present kingdom, west of Adua.

Aṣbeḥa, grew up and become joint kings ; then the strangers " at last came back to our world." Aedesius hastened to Tyre to see his friends and relations. But Frumentius came to Alexandria (the nearest Christian centre) saying " that it was not right to hide the Lord's work." Here he found the great Athanasius Patriarch. " He told the bishop that he should provide a worthy man to be bishop of the barbarous land for the many Christians already assembled there and for the churches they had already built." Athanasius in a council of his clergy said : " And whom else shall we find in whom is the Spirit of God, as in thee, who could so well do this ? " So he ordained Frumentius bishop of the Abyssinians. Frumentius went back to Aksum, preached the gospel with signs and wonders, converted the kings ¹ and a great number of people. " From which time in the lands of ' India ' people became Christian, churches were built, and a priesthood began." And Aedesius, having been ordained priest at Tyre, also came and helped his old friend to convert the Ethiopians.²

The other account puts the whole story much later, either about 450, under a King Tazana,³ or even at the time of Justinian (527-565).⁴ But there seems no reason to doubt Rufinus' date (all agree as to the names of the first missionaries) ; it is indeed powerfully confirmed by a notice given by St. Athanasius himself (p. 297). So St. Frumentius and St. Aedesius ⁵ are the apostles of Ethiopia. St. Frumentius is the first Metropolitan of Aksum and Primate of Abyssinia. After his death he was given the title *Aba salāma* (father of peace),⁶ still used by his successors.

¹ Kings Abrehā and Aṣbeḥa are saints in the Ethiopic Calendar (October 1).

² Rufinus, *loc. cit.*

³ So E. Littmann : article " Abyssinia " in Hastings' *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, i. 57. ⁴ So Nikephoros Kallistos, xvii. 12 (P.G. cxlvii. 252).

⁵ Aedesius is also called Sidracus (Sidrakos).

⁶ Ludolf quotes an Ethiopic hymn about Frumentius :

" With joyful voice I greet him,
praising and magnifying him,
Salāma, gate of mercy and of grace,
who made the glorious splendour of Christ
shine in Ethiopia,
where before were night and darkness."

(L. iii. c. ii.).

We notice already the dependence of Abyssinian Christianity on Egypt. This is natural. Egypt, with its Patriarch (the second in Christendom), was the nearest Christian country. Frumentius was ordained by the Patriarch of Alexandria; ordination in the East always produces ecclesiastical dependence. So the new Church fell into its place in the Christian world naturally. It was never independent nor autocephalous. Till Cyprus claimed to be autocephalous¹ there was no idea of independence of a Patriarch. In the first period there were three and only three Patriarchs—of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch; every part of Christendom was subject to one of these three. Missionary Churches beyond the empire were added to the domain of the centre from which they received their faith and bishops, practically the nearest centre. So, just as the Persian Church was counted an outlying province of Edessa and through Edessa belonged to Antioch, so Abyssinia became simply a province of the Alexandrine Patriarchate.² This position has hardly been disputed (except perhaps once, unsuccessfully);³ indeed the bonds which bound the Abyssinian Church to Alexandria have always been exceedingly close; they have worked disastrously to Abyssinia by making her share the Coptic heresy. The Primate of Abyssinia has never been counted as an independent Patriarch; he has always been a suffragan of Alexandria, has always been ordained there, and is now always a Coptic monk (p. 309) sent from Egypt. We shall find the Church of Abyssinia, then, in every way a humble and backward daughter of the Coptic Church.⁴ Her liturgy, vestments, canon law and, to a great extent, customs are Coptic in origin; but she has evolved some local practices of her own. In general, we may say that she owes all the good in her to the Copts, she shares their weaknesses and has further weak points of her own. The Copts themselves do not hold a very enlightened form of Christianity; we can imagine what a backward dependent of their Church must be, we can conceive how little culture, theology and spirituality there is in a body

¹ *Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 47–48.

² Barhebræus sees this parallel; *ed. cit.* i. 656–658.

³ See p. 300.

⁴ A discussion of the dependence of Abyssinia on the Coptic Church will be found in Renaudot: *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* (ed. cit.), i. 417–419.

which looks to the Coptic Patriarch as its highest standard, conscious that it lags some way behind that exalted ideal. So we are not surprised to find the Church founded under such happy auspices, when Athanasius laid his hands on Frumentius, now considerably the most backward part of the whole Christian family.

2. Christian Ethiopia in the Past

The Church founded by Frumentius and Aedesius soon became the religion of the State of Aksum and of all the real (Semitic) Abyssinians. From their time till to-day there has been a powerful Christian State south of Nubia. Its frontiers have varied considerably, as the King of Abyssinia gained or lost territory by the fortune of war. Not all his subjects have been Christian. The King himself, his court and his own people are always ; but they have often ruled and still do rule over subject tribes who remain Pagan or Moslem. The next thing we hear of the Ethiopic Church is a happy omen of its orthodoxy, unhappily not to be fulfilled in later years. It refused to accept Arianism. In 365 Constantius wrote to beg the Abyssinian King to send Frumentius to Alexandria, that he might learn the true faith from (and join in communion with) the Arian intruded Patriarch George (356-362). At the same time he warned him against Athanasius, who had been deposed "for many crimes."¹ But Frumentius and the king remained faithful to the saint from whom they had received their hierarchy.

Christianity was then strengthened and extended in Abyssinia by the monks of Upper Egypt. These have hardly had justice done to them as propagators of the faith. They preached the gospel with great zeal among the heathen south of Egypt. They built up flourishing churches in Nubia (p. 305), and so met the Christian Ethiopians. In the 5th and 6th centuries Coptic monks came to Abyssinia and revived or reorganized Christianity there, so that the Ethiopians count this as a kind of second conversion of their country. About the year 480, in the time of King Ameda, came the "Nine Saints," still honoured as secondary apostles of the country. They were Coptic monks, named Aragawi, Pantaleon,

¹ Athanasius : *Apol. contra Arianos*, 30 (P.G. xxv. 297-299).

Garima, Alef, Saham, Afe, Likanos, Adimata and Oz or Guba. During this time the Negus extended his power mightily. Invited by the Roman Emperor, he crossed the Red Sea in the 6th century, defeated the Jewish Himyarite king in Arabia and established his Government in the Haḍramaut and Yaman. But the Persians soon came and drove out the Ethiopians, so that before the end of the 6th century they had lost their possessions in Arabia. The "Year of the Elephant,"¹ famous in Moslem history, was an incident of the Abyssinian war in Arabia. The year of the Elephant is 570 or 571—the year of Mohammed's birth.² In that year an Abyssinian Christian general, whom the Arabs call Abrahātu-lAshram, marched on Mecca with an army and elephants, threatening to destroy the Ka'ba. But he was defeated and his army was destroyed in some unknown manner, concerning which the Koran has a story of signs and wonders.³

We do not know how, nor at what moment, the Abyssinian Church turned Monophysite. But that it should do so was almost inevitable. We have seen that Monophysism became the national religion of Egypt. Especially Upper Egypt, with which Abyssinia was in nearest contact, was solidly Monophysite. There seems no doubt that the "Nine Saints" were Monophysites. Naturally the Coptic monks who came to Abyssinia would tell the people their version of the story; how the Roman Emperor was reviving the heresy of Nestorius, undoing the work of Ephesus and trying to force Nestorius's heresy on Egypt, how the lawful Patriarch Dioscor had been maltreated at Chalcedon, how the true Egyptian Christians were being persecuted by Greek Melkites. Naturally, too, the Ethiopians believed all that their instructors said. So the Copts easily dragged their daughter-Church into heresy with them. Ever since the Copts have been Monophysites the Abyssinians have shared their heresy, agreeing with the

¹ 'ām al-fil.

² Sprenger calculates the date of the Prophet's birth as April 20, 571 (*Das Leben u. die Lehre des Mohammad*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1869, vol. i. p. 138).

³ Sūrah 105 (Sūratu-lfil). The legend here told is one of the paradoxes of the Koran. The Abyssinians were Christians, and their religion, according to Mohammed, was at that time the right one. They were about to destroy the Ka'ba, then a pagan temple. Yet God interferes and works miracles to save the pagan Ka'ba from Christians.

mother-Church with which they are in communion. But it is one of the most excusable, one of the least responsible schisms in Church history. What could these poor blacks in the heart of Africa understand of the issues involved, how could they realize the importance of the agreement of the great Church beyond Egypt? They have never seen further than the monks of Upper Egypt and the Coptic Patriarchate—to them the centre of the world. Then to the Ethiopians, too, Monophysism (never really understood) became the national Church and the national cause. All they know about it is that they are against anyone who annoys their father at Alexandria. But their heretical patrons did good to them also. It was Coptic monks who first translated the Bible into their language (Ge'ez).

There now follows a period of darkness for centuries. The Abyssinian kingdom fell back into a small highland state, surrounded by Islam on all sides. We can only imagine Christianity living still in the Tigre mountains, following in its development the lines of the Coptic mother-Church. The Abyssinians evolved their liturgies on the Coptic model (p. 316); they had monasteries, as had the Copts; their Metropolitan (Abūna, see p. 308) came to them from Egypt, always ordained by the Coptic Patriarch. Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th century, p. 104) knows that there are Christians and bishops in Ethiopia.¹ In Jerusalem there was an Abyssinian monastery in the Middle Ages. In 1177 and again at the time of Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) the Abyssinian king made advances towards union with Catholics, and a monastery for his people was established at Rome.² The dependence of the Abyssinian Church on the Coptic Patriarchate during all this time was clearly marked. Already it seems that the Abyssinian Abūna was normally, if not always, not only ordained in Egypt, but himself a Coptic monk, as is now the rule. The Coptic Patriarch Benjamin I (620-659, p. 228) sent one of his monks, named Cyril, to be Abūna of Abyssinia.³ The Copts managed to keep the

¹ *Ed. cit.* pp. 50-68 (cf. p. vi).

² Baronius: *Annales Eccl.* vol. xix. (Lucca, 1746), p. 451; Raynald: *Ann. Eccl.* vol. ix. (Lucca, 1752), p. 367.

³ Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* p. 455. The definite law that Abūna must always be a Copt is said to have been made by Abūna Takla Hai-mānōt about the year 1270, in the reign of King Yekūnō Amlāk.

appointment and consecration of Abūna in their own hands by not allowing the number of Abyssinian bishops to increase. Probably in the 8th century they forged an alleged canon of the Council of Nicæa, according to which Ethiopia is not to have a Patriarch, but is to be subject to Alexandria. The Abyssinian Metropolitan is called Katholikos, "which is less than a Patriarch."¹ At the same time they imposed on the daughter-Church a further law by which even the Abyssinian suffragan bishops must be ordained by the Patriarch of Alexandria.² About the year 1000 there was a revolution in Ethiopia by which a usurping Jewess made herself queen; her dynasty lasted till 1268. For a time the line of Metropolitans was interrupted; no Abūna came from Egypt. Then Philotheos of Alexandria (c. 981-1004) ordained one Daniel and sent him to Aksum.³ In 1268 there was a counter-revolution. Yekūnō Amlāk, of the old line, was restored; under him and his successors the kingdom again becomes powerful. One version of the legend of Prester John (p. 106) places him in Abyssinia.⁴ It is sometimes said that the story may have arisen from the fact that, in the absence of a bishop, the King of Abyssinia performed episcopal functions. But the great majority of legends place Prester John in Central Asia. As people in Europe knew that there was a Christian king in Ethiopia, as the mediæval concept of "India" was so vague, it can be understood that a variant of the story may have transferred its scene to the equally vague "Ethiopia." At intervals we hear of the ordination of a Coptic monk as Abūna of Abyssinia; such incidents, telling us generally a mere name, are all we have of Ethiopic Church history.⁵ The Moslem rulers of

¹ Canons of Nicæa in the Arabic version, Can. 42 (Mansi, ii. 994). The Copts also set up a law that a Metropolitan must be ordained by twelve bishops. Then, by not allowing the Ethiopians to have more than seven, they secured the right of ordaining Abūna themselves.

² Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* ib. He quotes the Canons of Ibn Naṣāl (p. 242).

³ Lequien, *Or. Christ.* ii. 650.

⁴ Oppert: *Der Presbyter Johannes* (Berlin, 1870), pp. 94-95. Abū Sālīh shares the popular idea. He says: "All the Kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary" (*Churches and Monasteries*, ed. cit. p. 286).

⁵ Ludolf gives an incomplete list of Metropolitans of Ethiopia (*Hist. Æth.* L. iii. c. iii. §§ 17-25). The Abyssinians do not count the Uniates of the 16th-17th centuries among them.

Egypt often interfere in these appointments ; they insist on being consulted and demand a bribe from the Patriarch each time. The Christian King of Abyssinia to the south of their domain was always an object of suspicion to the Moslems. They did all they could to discourage and hinder communication between him and their Coptic rayahs.¹ In the 11th century we hear of Severus, Metropolitan of Aksum, obtaining his place by bribing the Fatimid Khalif and promising to persuade the Abyssinians to accept the Khalif's rule. So he succeeded in ousting a rival at Aksum. He turned out to be rather a good bishop, and took steps to put down the polygamy or concubinage which has always been the great stain on Ethiopic Christianity. The Egyptian Moslems were able to force the Abyssinian king to maintain a certain number of mosques in his country for the benefit of his subject Moslem tribes. These were occasionally torn down by the Christian Ethiopians. When Badr alĠamālī was mighty in Egypt (1073-1094, see p. 237) he heard of such a destruction of mosques in Abyssinia, and wrote threatening to destroy all Coptic churches unless the mosques were rebuilt. But the king answered that if the stone of a Coptic church were touched he would cross the sea to Mecca, grind up the Ka'ba and send it in powder to Cairo.² There were other occasions on which the Abyssinians interfered to protect the Copts. Thus, when a Mamlūk Sultan put the Patriarch Mark IV (1348-1363) in prison, the King of Abyssinia threatened various retaliations, which had the effect of setting Mark free. In the 13th century Abūna Kilus behaved badly ; he had a priest flogged to death. He had to flee the country, came to Cairo, was tried and deposed by the Patriarch ; and people paid three dirhems for the hire of one donkey to see it done.³ Meanwhile the Copts had repeatedly prevented attempts of the Abyssinians to raise the number of their sees to twelve, so that they could ordain their own Metropolitan ; indeed, for a long time there were no other bishops in the country except Abūna himself. Under the Coptic Patriarch Gabriel II (1131-1145) the king wanted Abūna Michael to ordain more suffragans, in order that they might themselves ordain his successor. The

¹ Renaudot : *Hist. Patr. Alex.* pp. 381, 454, etc.

² Renaudot : *op. cit.* 463-464.

³ *Ib.* 360-363.

Copts prevented this.¹ So we must conceive this Church always dependent on the Copts, having little special history to chronicle,² till the 16th century. Then comes an important incident, and we have suddenly a flood of information about the country and its Church. The Portuguese came to Africa, made a treaty with the King of Abyssinia, sent zealous Catholic missionaries into the country and brought about a union with the Catholic Church. But this story belongs to our next volume, on the Uniates. Here it must be enough to note that the Portuguese missionaries were the first Western people to study the Abyssinian Church. We owe to their accounts most of our knowledge of its customs.³ For about a century (1555-1640) the Abyssinian Church was Catholic. During that time it broke its connection with the Copts; Abūna was nominated by the Pope. At the beginning of this intercourse with Rome, King Claude (1540-1559) sent a profession of his faith.⁴ It is a good statement of Monophysite Christianity, and shows that the writer understood the issue and was quite consciously Monophysite. Then came a reaction. A new king (Basilides, 1632-1665) drove out the Jesuits and all Catholic missionaries, forbade any Catholic priest to live in his land, and restored the dependence of his Church on the Coptic Patriarch. Meanwhile during the Portuguese ascendancy they had saved the country from a Moslem invasion under Mohammed Ahmed Granye (1528).⁵

From the failure of the Portuguese missionaries we date

¹ Renaudot: *op. cit.* 510-511. There have been continual revolutions and changes of dynasty in Abyssinia.

² The *Liber Axumæ* (edited with a translation by K. Conti Rossini as vol. 8 of the second series of Ethiopic authors in Chabot's *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, Paris, 1909) throws interesting light on the mediæval Abyssinian Church. It is a list of donations made to the Metropolitan Church at Aksum, with many curious legends and historical details.

³ For instance, Bermudez, translated into English by Purchas (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, part 2), and French by La Croze Mendez (*Litteræ æthiopicæ*, Mecheln, 1628), Lobo (*Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, transl. by M. le Grand, Paris, 1728), etc.

⁴ In Ludolf's *Comment.*, pp. 237-241. Archdeacon Dowling (*The Abyssinian Church*, pp. iv-v) quotes this very incompletely and admires it vastly. But probably he does not know of the rest.

⁵ He overran Abyssinia, and threatened to wipe out the Christian State from 1525 to 1540. He was probably a Somali or Galla.

modern Abyssinia. The characteristic of its history is a great distrust and fear of Europeans and European missionaries. No doubt they thought that the Portuguese meant eventually to annex their country ; maybe this idea was not altogether wrong. Their Church is their nation ; they do not want either to be interfered with by Europe. So there have been repeated laws forbidding missionaries of any other religion to come into the country.¹ The accounts of the Portuguese aroused considerable interest in this ancient kingdom. A number of missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, tried to approach Abyssinia. In times of slack discipline they succeeded ; but always, as soon as they began to make converts, they were driven out again. These missionaries never succeeded in forming rival Churches to the State religion ; they are only important inasmuch as they brought back accounts of the country. Peter Heyling from Lübeck, the first Protestant missionary, came in 1634 and made a vain attempt to preach his religion. In the early 19th century the Church Missionary Society made a great effort. James Bruce travelled in Abyssinia in the years 1768-1773, and wrote an account of the country.² He persuaded an Abyssinian monk to translate the Bible into the modern language (Amharic) ; this was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.³ In 1830 the C.M.S. sent Samuel Gobat⁴ and Christian Kugler ; they were followed by C. W. Isenberg and Ludwig Krapf. The mission had to be abandoned by the year 1850. In 1858 a Protestant missionary society at Basel made an equally unsuccessful attempt.

We shall describe the Catholic missions in our next volume. They alone, in spite of enormous difficulties, remain in the country and have a seminary in which they educate a native Catholic clergy. But the Catholic mission is still very small. Practically there is no tolerance in Abyssinia.⁵ There is a colony of the ubiquitous Jews between Aksum and Gondar. The great danger is Islam, which surrounds the Ethiopic Church on all sides. Many tribes

¹ Already in the Middle Ages they had a law that no foreigner who entered Abyssinia should ever return home.

² *Travels in Abessinia*, London, 1790.

³ Not complete.

⁴ Afterwards Anglo-Lutheran Bishop of Jerusalem (1845-1879).

⁵ There is now one small Swedish Lutheran mission, under Dr. Adolf Kolmadin, on the frontier, in the Italian colony Eritrea.

politically subject to the King of Abyssinia are Moslem. They are not allowed to build mosques in the central (Christian) part of the country, and the conversion of a Christian to Islam is still forbidden by law. But, in spite of that, Islam is making alarming progress among the Tigre tribes in the north. It is said that already nearly two-thirds of these tribes have been won by Moslem missionaries from the Sudan.¹ Lastly, we may note that the Orthodox Russians show great friendliness to the Abyssinians, and may very likely make an attempt to detach them from their ancient dependence on the Copts and to turn them into an Orthodox Church dependent on the Czar. In 1904 the Abyssinians quarrelled with the Copts over the possession of the Coptic monastery (Dair asSultān) by the Holy Sepulchre, which they said ought to belong to them, since St. Helen gave it to the King of Abyssinia. The Negus was so angry about it that he broke all relations with the Coptic Patriarch, made a schism from Egypt, and sent a general, Metshetshia Warkye, to Jerusalem and Constantinople to persuade the Turks to hand it over to him. He was overwhelmed with attentions by the Russians, who took up his cause hotly. They hoped great things from the schism against the Copts; Orthodox papers began to foretell the speedy conversion of Abyssinia to Orthodoxy. However, the English Embassy took up the cause of our clients (Egypt), and the Sublime Porte, as usual, promised everything to everybody and did nothing at all. So far the Abyssinians have not turned Orthodox and have not got the monastery.²

3. Christianity in Nubia

Before we describe the Abyssinian Church as it is to-day, we must say a word about the old Church of Nubia, if only to point out that once there was one. It is difficult to realize that the heart of the Sudan, the desert which we associate with the horrors of the Mahdi and Khalifa, of Khartum and Omdurman, was once

¹ See the article by E. Littmann in *Der Islam* (Hamburg) for 1910, and Karl Cederquist: *Islam and Christianity in Abyssinia (The Moslem World)*, vol. II. 1912, Feb. pp. 152-156).

² See the *Échos d'Orient*, 1904, pp. 309-310; 1906, p. 124.

a flourishing Christian country. It needs an effort to imagine Dongola, of all places, as a centre of Christianity.

Apart from legends about the Eunuch of Queen Candace as a missionary, Barhebræus counts the conversion of Nubia¹ as made under Justinian (523–565) by a Coptic monk, Julian.² In any case, it seems due to the zeal of the monks of Upper Egypt. They preached the gospel south of their monasteries and converted tribes of blacks. These people got their bishops from Egypt, and so, like the Abyssinians, followed Egypt into Monophysism. The Syrian historian John of Ephesus,³ in the 6th century, took a great interest in the Nubian Church, and describes its origin and state at length.⁴ In the 7th century there was a mighty Christian kingdom of Nubia between Egypt and Abyssinia, which formed a great barrier to the Moslems of Egypt. Its capital was Dongola on the Nile.⁵ There was constantly fighting between the King of Nubia and the Moslems. The Moslems sent embassies to their neighbour, invaded his land or were invaded by him. From the ambassadors we have descriptions of this Church. They say that in the capital there were churches, well-built and large, full of golden ornaments. Under the king were thirteen governors, who were also bishops. The people are all Monophysites dependent on the Coptic Patriarch. Their holy books were written in Greek ; but they had versions in their own language.⁶ The Nubians also came to the defence of the Copts.

¹ Nubia is the Northern Sudan, beginning at the southern frontier of Egypt (now by Wādi Halfah).

² *Chron. Eccl.* i. 230–233.

³ John of Ephesus († soon after 585) was a Monophysite monk at Constantinople and a friend of Justinian. He wrote the first Syriac Church History (the third part was edited by W. Cureton, Oxford, 1853, translated by R. Payne-Smith, *ib.* 1860; all that remains, in German: *Die Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus*, by J. M. Schönfelder, Munich, 1862). See Duval: *Littérature syriaque*, 191–195.

⁴ Ed. Payne-Smith, iv. 6–8 (pp. 251–258).

⁵ Besides this kingdom, of which the sovereign is generally called King of the Nubians (malik an-Nūb) by Moslem writers, there were other Christian States between Egypt and Abyssinia ; notably we hear of a King of Aluwah in the 10th century.

⁶ So the Kitāb al-fihrist and 'Abdu-llāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaim, who came on an embassy from the first Fatimid Khalif (Mu'izz, 953–975) to King George of Nubia. Their accounts are translated by Quatremère: *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte* (Paris, 1811), ii. 1–126.

When the Patriarch Michael I (743-767) was imprisoned, they attacked Egypt and forced the Government to let him go.¹ But the Moslems, on the whole, did succeed in asserting some kind of supremacy over Nubia. They made the Nubians pay a yearly tribute of money and slaves. The king had to tolerate Islam in his domain, and to keep a mosque in good repair on the outskirts of his city.² In the 11th century Nubia began to lose ground and to decline. There was a revival; but at last, about the 15th century, Islam swept this Christian State away. The Nubians had no mountains in which they could take refuge, like the Abyssinians. As late as the 17th century, Vansleb says that there are still churches in Nubia, not used because there are no priests.³ Now nothing is left but ruins all over Northern Sudan;⁴ the descendants of these valiant Christian warriors are the savages who rose for the Mahdi.

We have, then, the picture of this extinct Christianity lasting over a thousand years. From about the 4th to the 15th century Nubia was Christian. Of its theology and rites we know little or nothing directly; but we may deduce fairly safely that they were based on those of the Copts; though Abū Ṣāliḥ's "Greek" books are rather surprising. Did they keep a Greek (St. Mark?) liturgy, or does he take Coptic characters for Greek (a pardonable mistake in an Arab)? The mass of ruins the Christians have left give us an idea of the prosperity of their Church. They had a large hierarchy and a flourishing civilization. Ibn Sulaim says he "passed through nearly thirty towns with fine houses, monasteries, numberless palm-groves, vineyards, gardens

There is an essay on Christian Nubia and its relation to the Coptic Patriarch in Renaudot: *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* (ed. cit.) i. 416-417. See also Abū Ṣāliḥ: *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (ed. Evetts and Butler), pp. 262-274.

¹ Lequien: *op. cit.* ii. 662.

² See the terms granted by 'Abdu-llāh ibn Sa'd to the Nubians in 652, after he had defeated them, in S. Lane-Poole: *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 21-23.

³ *Hist. du Patr. d'Alexandrie*, p. 30.

⁴ These are described by Rosellini: *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, Pisa, 1832-1844; Champollion: *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1844; G. Mileham: *Churches in Lower Nubia* (E. B. Cox, Jr., *Expedition to Nubia*, vol. ii.), Univ. Museum, Philadelphia, 1910.

and wide-spreading fields, besides herds of camels of great beauty and breeding." Khartum, then, had splendid churches and fine houses.¹

4. The Negus and his People

Ethiopia and Abyssinia are practically convertible terms.² Lately, however, geographers begin to use Ethiopia as a purely geographical term for the highlands between the Upper Nile and the bottom of the Red Sea, Abyssinia as a political name for the domain over which the Negus is king. The heart of this domain is the mountain-land with high tablelands to the north of the present kingdom. There are three races of inhabitants in Abyssinia. The aborigines (Shangalā) are African negroes, mostly fetish-worshippers and animists, with witch-doctors; some are Moslems, a few Christian converts. The Hamitic tribes form the main stock of the population. They are akin to the ancient Egyptians, and keep a language of that family. The Gallas to the south belong to this race. They are Polytheists or Moslems, with some Christians. The dominant race, the Abyssinians proper, are the Semites who invaded the country, probably from Arabia. Most of these are Christian. They are much mixed in blood with the older Hamitic tribes. It is this race of Semites which made the kingdom; the Abyssinian Church is their Church. They hold the Government and rule over the others. Their language is Semitic. When you have mastered the difficult syllabic letters it turns out to be closely allied to Arabic. Indeed, Amharic, when you hear it spoken, sounds like a rough Arabic dialect. The old form of the language is Ge'z (lesān ge'z).³ This is the classical language of their ancient literature, still used for all Church

¹ Quatremère: *loc. cit.* ii. 6-35.

² The old name is always *Ethiopia* (Greek Αἰθιοψ, "Burnt-face," from αἶψα ὀψ, Latin Aethiops). They call themselves this ('Ityōpyā, 'Ityōpyāwī). *Abyssinia* is a comparatively modern formation from the Arabic *ḥabaš*, "mixed" (originally a term of contempt for the mixed races and religions of the country). The *y* has no justification at all. The older form Abessinia (used still in German) would be much better.

³ "The tongue of the freemen (or of the Ethiopians)." Ge'z is the old name for Ethiopian (Prætorius: *Gramm. æthiopica*, p. 63); the Hebrew Kūš (Ezekiel, xxix. 10) ?

services.¹ It is now dead; no one speaks it, even the clergy hardly understand it. It has developed into three modern dialects—Tigre, spoken in the northern mountains; Tigrinya around Aksum; and Amharic, the language of the Government, court and official classes generally.²

The ruler of all these people is the Negūsha nagasht za'ityōpya.³ He claims to descend from King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba.⁴ In Ethiopic legend that lady's name was Mākedā; her son, the first Negus, was Menelek I. The Negus is proud of his supposed Jewish descent; he speaks of "my fathers, the Kings of Israel,"⁵ he is the Lion of the tribe of Judah; he uses, as a kind of coat of arms, a lion passant-gardant, crowned imperially, bearing in the sinister jamb a banner of the Ethiopian colours, gules, or, vert, fesswise; and his motto is: "Vicit leo de tribu Iuda." The present King is Menelek II; he drove out the usurper John in 1889. He is an absolute sovereign, whose power is tempered by that of about forty governors or princes (Rās) ruling parts of his domain under him. There are said to be between three and five million inhabitants of Abyssinia, of whom most are members of the national Church. Till 1892 the capital and royal residence was Gondar. Now it is Adis Ababa in the central province (Shoa).

5. The Hierarchy

The head of the Church of Abyssinia (under the Coptic Patriarch) is the Metropolitan of Aksum. He now resides in Adis Ababa. He is called Abūna ("our father");⁶ also Aba Salāma ("father of peace"). We have seen that Abūna is always a Coptic monk, chosen and ordained by the Coptic Patriarch.

¹ F. Prætorius: *Grammatica æthiopica* (Karlsruhe u. Leipzig, H. Reuter, *Porta ling. orient.* 1886). A still more useful grammar is M. Chaine, S.J.: *Grammaire éthiopienne* (Beyrouth, 1907).

² Prætorius: *Die amharische Sprache* (Halle, 1879).

³ "King of the Kings of Ethiopia." He is often called the Emperor of Abyssinia. But this comes only from the silly practice of calling almost any powerful sovereign an emperor.

⁴ As a matter of fact, the hereditary line has been broken several times in known history.

⁵ Ludolf: *Comm. in hist. æthiop.* p. 237.

⁶ To say "the Abūna" determines a Semitic word twice over, and is as wrong as "the Alcoran."

When a Metropolitan dies, the king sends an embassy to Cairo, with gifts for the Khedive and governor, asking for a successor. On several occasions of late the Abyssinians have threatened to shake off their ancient subjection under the Coptic Patriarch. The Government has approached the Armenians and the Jacobites with a view of getting bishops ordained by them ; stranger still, lately they seem to accept the advances of Orthodox Russia not unwillingly.¹ However, a schism from the Copts has not yet happened. Among the holy men of Egypt there is no undue ambition for the honour of being Abūna. On the contrary, they do all they can to avoid it. In the past we hear of a monk being caught, ordained by force, and carried off to Abyssinia under a strong guard. The reason of this is that Abūna never sees his fatherland again. He must end his days an exile in what, even to a Copt, is a barbarous land. The flesh-pots of Egypt may not seem very attractive to us (in the case of a Coptic monk), but they seem more desirable to them than exile in Gondar. One of the many disadvantages of this system is the long period of *sedes vacans*. It used to take about two years after the death of one Metropolitan before his successor entered the capital.² The new Primate is received with great pomp when he enters the country, and is escorted by the king, nobles, clergy and soldiers to the palace where he is to reside. Umbrellas form a great feature of Abyssinian processions. Abūna alone has the right to one of cloth of gold held over him. He alone crowns the Negus, administers the sacrament of Holy Orders to bishops, priests and deacons,³ consecrates churches and altars, and rules all the

¹ Stranger because the Armenians and Jacobites are fellow Monophysites. But communion with the Orthodox would mean a change of religion. It would be very interesting if, after all this trouble for fifteen hundred years, a whole Monophysite Church accepted Chalcedon, because the Copts will not give them a small convent in Jerusalem.

² Renaudot : *Lit. Orient. Coll.* i. 418. When at last he arrives Abūna has to learn two foreign languages.

³ This seems strange ; but all authors seem to agree that no other bishop is allowed to ordain even priests and deacons (*e.g.* Gondal : *Le Christianisme au pays de Ménélik*, p. 18). If so, one may ask what is the good of them. But I suspect that this idea comes from the frequent periods in which Abūna was the only bishop in Abyssinia. Now that he has suffragans (p. 311), I think that they may ordain their priests and deacons, as do Coptic bishops.

Ethiopic Church under the Patriarch of Alexandria. The Patriarch treats him just like his other Metropolitans, sends him



FIG. 10.—THE ABYSSINIAN PRIMATE, ABŪNA MATEWOS.

Paschal letters, as to the others, and considers Abyssinia simply as one more province of his patriarchate.¹ Abūna is never very popular among his people. He is a foreigner; the language, liturgy, customs are strange to him. We said that he can ordain other bishops. There is some complication about this. The old law exists still in theory; he may ordain not more than seven suffragans (p. 300, n. 1). But constantly it transpires that there are no suffragans at all; so that some writers state as a general fact

¹ Renaudot: *loc. cit.* i. 419.

that Abūna is the only bishop in Abyssinia.¹ Certainly in the past he has ordained suffragans, and has wanted to ordain twelve. Now he has suffragans, but does not ordain them. The Coptic Patriarch has succeeded in applying the rule about Abūna to other Abyssinian bishops too, or has enforced the general principle that he alone ordains all bishops of his patriarchate. So the modern practice is that all bishops in Abyssinia are Coptic monks ordained by the Patriarch. I believe I am right in saying that the present Primate² has two suffragans, Peter and Luke.³ Abyssinian institutions, laws, faith and arrangements generally are those of the Copt's, with local variety. In order not to say the same thing twice over, we will here assume that everything corresponds to Coptic use, with the following exceptions.

The priests are even more illiterate than those of Egypt. They are ordained in great numbers without any kind of training. Lobo's account of an ordination in the 16th century is interesting. He quotes from Fr. Alvarez, of the Portuguese mission. Abūna rode up on a mule and made a speech in Arabic,⁴ to the effect that if, among those to be ordained, anyone were present who had been twice married, he must withdraw, under pain of excommunication. Hereupon he got off his mule and sat by a white tent specially prepared for him. Alvarez says that 2356 men were waiting to be ordained.⁵ Meanwhile some priests arranged these in rows, and examined them by giving to each a book to read. They touched those whom they approved on the arm and made them step forward. After this examination Abūna went into the tent, and the candidates were admitted, one by one, before him. Abūna laid his hand on each one's head, said several prayers, and blessed him repeatedly with his little bronze cross. Then followed the liturgy, at which the newly ordained priests received Communion from Abūna.⁶ Deacons are boys who can just read. The

¹ So Gondal: *op. cit.* p. 21; Silbernagl: *Verfassung, u.s.w.* p. 295; Lobo: *Voyage hist.* p. 353.

² He is Matthew: Abūna Matewos, aba salāma.

³ I know nothing more about either Peter or Luke, except that they are Egyptian monks, ordained at Cairo.

⁴ Presumably the only language he knew; I suppose no one present but Alvarez could understand him.

⁵ Apparently some are stark naked.

⁶ Lobo: *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie*, pp. 341-342.

ḳōmōs¹ corresponds to a Coptic ḳummuṣ (p. 257). The Dabtarā is a learned man who instructs the clergy, teaches them their duties, supervises churches, and so on ; but apparently is himself a layman.² There is an enormous number of monks. As their founder they honour St. Takla Haimānōt, a very popular Ethiopic saint, who is said to have introduced, or reorganized, the angelic life about the year 620. His name means "Plant of life." His feast is December 24. So in their diptychs for the dead, they pray always : "Remember, O Lord, the soul of thy servant, our father Takla Haimānōt, and all his companions." He was the first 'Itshāgē.³ The organized monks, who take the usual vows (like Coptic monks), live in monasteries under a ḳōmōs. The head of all of them is the 'Itshāgē, who lives at Gondar, and is the second greatest ecclesiastical person in the land. The 'Itshāgē, being a native, is more popular, and is a formidable rival to Abūna. There are also many hermits, wandering holy men who beg, people possessed by various spirits, and monks (of a kind) who continue to live with their families, are not celibate, but wear a religious dress and practise certain special devotions. There are nuns in convents.⁴ Monks wear a tunic, a belt, a great cloak and a hood.⁵ The secular priests and bishops dress much as do the Copts, except that a kale-maukion seems common.⁶

6. Rites and Ceremonies

There is an enormous number of churches all over the country, many more than are needed.⁷ The Abyssinian church is, apparently always, a round building with the sanctuary in the middle.

¹ A dignity called Alaka seems to be the same as a ḳōmōs.

² Ludolf (*Hist. Aeth.* L. iii. c. vii. §§ 26-29) calls him "Canonicus." More about the hierarchy will be found there, c. vii.

³ Ludolf : *Hist. Aeth.* L. iii. c. iii. §§ 15-28 ; and his *Comment.* p. 402.

⁴ Further information about the angelic life in Ethiopia will be found in Ludolf : *Hist. Aeth.* L. iii. c. iii., and Lobo : *Voyage hist.* pp. 356-357.

⁵ There seems to be no principle as to colour, and not much as to shape or material. The Abyssinian monks I saw in Jerusalem were dressed in very dirty rusty black. Curzon saw them in bright yellow clothes of leather (*Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 106).

⁶ Most of those I have seen were very dirty, greasy and unpleasant.

⁷ I have been told that there are over six thousand churches in Abyssinia.

This appears to be founded on the same illusion as to the shape of Solomon's temple as produced our round Templar churches in



FIG. II.—THE ABYSSINIAN MONASTERY BY THE ANASTASIS AT JERUSALEM.

Europe. In Abyssinia itself the churches, at least in country districts, are said to be very poor structures—a round mud wall and thatched roof. I examined with some care the big church they built lately outside Jerusalem.¹ Dull and ugly as this church is, it has an interest, since it reproduces the plan of their churches at home on a larger scale. It is built of stone, quite

¹ North-west, a mile or so from the walls, beyond the Russian pilgrims' hospice. Its title is "Church of Paradise." Besides this church (and the convent they hope to take from the Copts, p. 304) the Abyssinians have in Jerusalem a monastery with a great court (in which is the very same olive-tree where Abraham found the ram), east of the Anastasis (see fig. II). Next to it is the Coptic monastery Dair asSultān (which the Abyssinians claim). In the Anastasis they have one small chapel. The Abyssinian and Coptic monks quarrel very badly; the Copts (and Armenians) used to lock the Abyssinians in at night; would not let them get to their chapel, and so on.

round, with a dome. Over the door is sculptured their crowned lion. Within there is a broad passage around the central choir and sanctuary. This has a wall all round it up to the roof, and beyond, for it rises above the outer wall and becomes the drum of the dome. The central space is divided by a straight screen across it into choir and sanctuary. The arrangement of the altar, vessels, and so on, is sufficiently Coptic to justify a reference in general to that use (pp. 267-270). They have, of course, no statues, but numbers of paintings of our Lord and of saints. All the Abyssinian paintings I have seen are exceedingly rude, without artistic merit of any kind,¹ but very curious and interesting.²

The ark (*tābōt*) on every Ethiopic altar has puzzled many people.³ The Abyssinians say that the Queen of Sheba brought the ark of the Covenant back with her to Aksum, where it is kept in the Metropolitan church.⁴ Every other church has a *tābōt*, a copy of the one at Aksum. They pay enormous reverence to the *tābōt*. Their liturgy contains a special prayer for blessing it ;⁵ they carry it in processions, bless with it, bow down before it. What then, exactly, is this ark ? It is tempting to suppose that it must be a vessel containing the Holy Eucharist, as Neale thinks.⁶ It seems, however, that it is not so. The Abyssinians have, at least now, no reservation of the Holy Eucharist (*cf.* p. 286). The real explanation is a simple one. The *tābōt* is the Coptic *pitote*, a box, otherwise empty, in which the chalice stands

¹ Coptic paintings are rude too, in the sense of showing very naïve drawing and ignorance of all the usual rules ; but the older ones have great artistic beauty. I do not think the most enthusiastic archæologist could find any beauty at all in Abyssinian painting, though much of their ornament form (crosses, geometric patterns, and so on) shows a sense of design and Coptic influence.

² Some curious Abyssinian paintings, ornaments and church vessels (brought back by the expedition of 1867), may be seen in the British Museum (Christian Room, wall-cases 16-18). But the guide to this room (by Mr. C. H. Read) contains many bad blunders, including the amazing statement that Ge'z is written from right to left (p. 96).

³ Renaudot : *Liturg. Orient. Coll.* i. 498 ; Neale : *Holy Eastern Church*, Gen. Introd. i. 185-186.

⁴ For this legend see Ludolf : *Hist. Aethiop.* L. ii. cap. iii. § 8. For the *tābōt* in other churches, *ib.* L. iii. c. vi. § 62. The *tābōt* at Aksum is magnificent, covered with gold and jewels. Abū Šāliḥ describes it (*Churches and Monasteries*, pp. 287-288).

⁵ Renaudot : *loc. cit.* i. 474.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* i. 186.

during the liturgy (pp. 271, 282). But it may also contain the wooden altar-board (p. 270, called *tablith* in Arabic), or be joined to this (stand on it). The reverence, probably, was originally addressed to the altar-board. The resemblance of the two names (*tablith* and *tābōt*¹), the box-like form of the *pitote*, and the usual Judaizing tendency of Abyssinian Christianity (p. 319) may be the origin of the name *tābōt*, of the legend connecting it with the Jewish ark, and of the transference of reverence from the board to the box. At any rate, it seems clear that the modern *tābōt* contains nothing at all, that it just stands on the altar, and is used in the liturgy as by the Copts.²

The official vestments of the Abyssinian rite are the same as those of the Copts (pp. 272-274); like the Copts, they use only some of these (p. 274) on most occasions. *Abūna* has a fine triple crown, a little hand cross with which to bless, and any number of orders and decorations. All their services are in *Ge'z*. Except "Amen," "*Hālelūyā*," and "*Kīrālāyesōn*," they have no mixture of any foreign language; nor do they read the lessons in the vulgar tongue. *Ge'z* has much the same relation to the vulgar tongue (Amharic, etc.) as Old Slavonic to Russian. It is said that even the clergy know but little of the classical language; no doubt they (and the people too) know by heart what the prayers mean. In general, all their services are based on those of the Copts. In Abyssinia the Coptic rite translated, is used, with considerable local variations. Except the holy liturgy, their books have not yet been printed, hardly at all studied.³ We must imagine them as following the main lines of the Coptic books, with local differences. The order of the administering of Sacraments is also Coptic in essence. The holy liturgy has been

¹ Which is the usual name for the old Ark of the Covenant.

² I tried, without success, to make an Abyssinian priest open the *tābōt*, or tell me what is in it. I am persuaded that it is empty. It is, of course, quite possible that when they had Reservation they used the *tābōt* and that it has kept the reverence once meant for what it contained.

³ The Abyssinian Theotokia were published by Dr. Fries (*Wedase Marjam*, Leipzig, 1892) and by I. Guidi (*Wedase Marjam*, Rome, 1900). Trumpp published their Baptism rite (*Das Taufbuch der äthiopischen Kirche*, Munich, 1878). Quotations from the Theotokia will be found in H. Goussen: *Aphorismen über die Verehrung der hl. Jungfrau in den altorient. Kirchen* (Paderborn, 1903).

edited and translated several times.¹ The book which contains it is called *Ḳeddāse* (their name for the liturgy). They have an unchanging *Ordo communis* (the Pro-anaphoral part, Intercession and Post-Communion prayers), which they ascribe to Basil of Antioch; to this is normally joined the "Anaphora of all the Apostles." The *Ordo communis* is really a version of the Alexandrine St. Mark; the Anaphora of the Apostles is an independent one, from the old Egyptian Church Order.² The original form had no Sanctus. This has been added, awkwardly, later. They also have a number of alternate anaphoras, which may be substituted for that of the Apostles. That of "Our Lord Jesus Christ"³ contains prayers from the "Testament of our Lord"⁴ in place of the normal ones. Those of "Our Lady Mary, by Kyriakos of Behnsa,"⁵ of "Saint Dioscor,"⁶ of "St. John Chrysostom,"⁷ have also been published. Brightman gives the titles of eleven others, not yet printed.⁸ These are ascribed to St. John the Evangelist, St. James, St. Gregory the Armenian, the "318 Orthodox" (of Nicæa), and so on. One (St. Basil) is merely a version of the Coptic St. Basil. Many of them are not complete anaphoras, but fragments, which may be substituted for the corresponding parts of the Apostles' liturgy. They seem to be used only on rare occasions, some of them not at all.

The normal rite, with the Apostles' Anaphora, as we have said, follows the lines of the St. Mark Liturgy. The instruments and vessels are prepared; the celebrant goes to pay reverence to the *tābōt*, which he covers with a veil. The bread and wine are made

¹ Namely the usual Anaphora (of all the Apostles) and four others; see below.

² The immediate source is the *Ethiopic Church Order*, a translation (with variants) of the other. For the nature and relation of these documents see Funk: *Das Testament unseres Herrn u. die Verwandten Schriften* (Mainz, 1901); A. J. Maclean: *The Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910).

³ In Petrus Ethiops: *Testamentum novum* (Rome, 1548), and Ludolf: *Comm. ad suam hist. æthiop.* (Frankfurt, 1691, pp. 341-345).

⁴ See Funk: *op. cit.*

⁵ Petrus Ethiops: *op. cit.*

⁶ In Ludolf: *Lexicon æthiopicum* (London, 1661; appendix), and Lebrun: *Explication . . . de la messe* (Paris, 1716-1726), iv. 564-579.

⁷ In Dillmann: *Chrestomathia æthiopica* (Leipzig, 1866), 51-56. These are all translated in Rodwell: *Ethiopic Liturgies and Hymns* (London, 1864).

⁸ *Eastern Liturgies*, p. lxxiv; cf. Ludolf: *Comment.* pp. 340-341.

ready, and offered. During the Enarxis is a long litany by the deacon, with answer: "Kīrālāyesōn" to each petition. This litany is taken from the "Testament of our Lord," and is an Ethiopic peculiarity, not in the Coptic rite. The Liturgy of the Catechumens begins with a general incensing (of which the tābōt has a special share). There are four lessons, with Graduals and the Monophysite Trisagion, as by the Copts (p. 190). The Catechumens are dismissed by a special form (*cf.* p. 283). Then follow the Creed, washing of hands, kiss of peace. "Sursum corda" ¹ follows, and the Intercession ² in the normal Egyptian place, before the consecration. The people sing the Sanctus; then come the words of Institution and Epiklesis, the Lord's Prayer, Intinction (as p. 285), and Communion (apparently always in separate kinds, the deacon bringing the chalice). At the end are a last thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer again, and the dismissal.³ There is a peculiarity about the words of Institution which has caused some discussion. The words for the bread are: "Take, eat, *this bread* is my body, which is broken for you for forgiveness of sins," ⁴ instead of "This is my body." Theologians have argued whether such a form be valid. It is further discussed whether, in view of the incredible carelessness with which they ordain, their orders can be admitted as certainly valid. This would only affect priests and deacons. As long as their bishops are ordained by the Coptic Patriarch, they at least are really bishops.

The Ethiopic Calendar has many peculiarities. It follows the Era of the Martyrs and is counted as by the Copts (p. 286).⁵ They also have the Coptic fasts (p. 287).⁶ But they have their

¹ Here begins the Anaphora of all the Apostles.

² In it they pray for Abūna and the Coptic Patriarch (Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 228). In the deacon's litany they pray for these two and the king (*ib.* 206-207).

³ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 194-244.

⁴ *Ib.* 232.

⁵ They group four years under the patronage of each of the four Evangelists. St. Luke always has the leap year. Thus "Matthew" was their 1901 (our September 11, 1908-September 10, 1909), "Mark" 1902 (1909-1910), "Luke" 1903 (1910-1911), "John" 1904 (1911-1912). Further information about the Abyssinian reckoning will be found in M. Chaine: *Grammaire éthiopienne* (op. cit.), pp. 92-95.

⁶ Ludolf: *Hist. Aeth. L.* iii. c. vi. § 90.

own feasts, very strange ones. They have the same feast over and over again during the year. Our Lord's birth is kept once a month (except March) on the 24th or 25th. Our Lady, St. Michael,¹ and "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (one feast) also once a month. Their own saints, kings, martyrs and monks occur; but not one Metropolitan (since Abūna is an unpopular foreigner). They have very strange legends of their saints; on June 25 they keep Saint Pontius Pilate, of all people, and his wife Procla.² They have music in their churches, bells, rattles like the old sistrum, and especially big drums. To these the priests dance before the ark, as did David. They sing wild melodies, and the women make the strange shrill cries which one hears all over the East, either for rejoicing or mourning.

7. Ethiopic Faith and Customs—Judaism

The Abyssinian Church is Monophysite; it agrees in all points with the Copts. We need not then discuss these again. But it has some further peculiarities of its own. There are vehement discussions and three schools³ concerning the hypostatic union and the birth of Christ. The normal Monophysites believe that our Lord was born of the Father from eternity, born of his mother in time, when he united, absorbed a human nature into his Divinity. This is the recognized and official school, to which Abūna and most of the clergy belong. A second party teaches that the union of Christ's humanity and Divinity into one nature (understood in the usual Monophysite sense) took place when he received the unction of the Holy Ghost at his baptism; so they count this as a third birth, the birth of our Lord's one theandric nature. A third school maintains that, as son of Mary, Christ was man only; later God infused into him Divinity, without changing his human nature. Now, as far as the doctrine of two

¹ St. Michael is the national patron of Abyssinia.

² Ludolf: *Comment.* p. 433. The wife because of her dream; Pilate because he said he was innocent. The Byzantine rite has St. Procla (alone), on October 27. The whole Calendar is given in Ludolf: *ad suam. hist. æth. Commentarius*, pp. 389-427, with notes.

³ I do not call them sects, because they are all in communion with each other.

perfect natures goes this is Catholic ; indeed, in the idea of a later infusion of Divinity, it exceeds on the other side and takes up an idea of Nestorius (p. 70)—strange to find this among professed Monophysites.¹ Among the logical Monophysites there are many who carry that heresy to the length of paying too great reverence to the Blessed Virgin, making her divine. This may follow from Monophysite premises. For, if our Lord had only one Divine nature, his mother would be not only mother of God, but mother of his Divinity. If she gave him a Divine nature she must have had it herself. So among Abyssinians there is a real exaggeration of honour paid to her, culminating in adoration, in the idea that she too died for our sins, is our redeemer, that all grace can only come through (or even from) her. Certainly in no part of the Christian world does devotion to our Lady reach such a point as in Abyssinia. A curious point is that, among an unlettered and ignorant people, these theological quarrels are so acute that when the last king, the usurper John, marched against Shōa, to inflame his soldiers he used as a chief argument that his enemies taught the threefold birth of Christ.

But the most conspicuous characteristic of the Abyssinian Church is its *Judaism*. However this may be explained, the fact is undeniable and very remarkable. It is unique in Christendom. We need not attach much weight to the practice of circumcision ; this is common throughout the East. The Abyssinians probably took it from the Copts ; like the Copts they see no religious idea in it (p. 279). But they keep Saturday holy, as well as Sunday. On both days equally they celebrate the Holy Eucharist and rest from work. They keep the Jewish law of food, abstain from Judaically unclean meats, eat only of that which chews the cud and divides the hoof. And there is their legend about the Ark of the Covenant at Aksum, and the enormous reverence they pay to it and to the tābōt in every church.

A common explanation of this feature is that they were originally converted Jews, and have kept much of what they then

¹ It is in this third school that the Russians, not without reason, see hope of making the Abyssinians Orthodox. So they favour it, and wish it to spread. But they must take care lest, in persuading their new friends to accept Chalcedon, they make them contradict Ephesus.

practised since they became Christians. This is possible, but there is no direct evidence that they ever were Jews (p. 294). Nor do I think this explanation necessary. A backward and almost isolated people, who receive the Old Testament as the word of God, an Eastern people surrounded (like the Jews) by unbelievers, to whom much of the Mosaic Law must seem natural, might easily evolve the idea that it applies to them too. They know nothing of the anti-Jewish struggle which forms a chapter in our early Church history, and they set great store by King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; the Negus thinks the Kings of Israel his own glorious ancestors (p. 308). I doubt if we need look further than this for the origin of their Judaizing practices. But they count St. Paul (and Hebrews) among the canonical books; they read St. Paul in their liturgy. Apparently in Ethiopia, as in some other places, he has not succeeded in making himself understood.

The Abyssinian Bible contains many strange books, more than that of the Copts (p. 265). Besides our canonical books, it has the Book of Enoch¹ (quoted in Jud. 14-15), the Book of Jubilees, fourth Book of Esdras, Ascension of Isaias,² Epistle of Jeremias, Apocalypse of Baruch, the Shepherd of Hermas, Apostolic Constitutions and Canons, Epistles of Clement and others.³

It is often said that polygamy is allowed in Abyssinia. This is not true and not just to the national Church. She has exactly the same law of monogamy as have all Christians. No man can *marry* more than one wife at a time. What does happen is that

¹ This is the most famous Ethiopic Apocryphum. Bruce brought a copy of it from Abyssinia in 1773 (Fleming: *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1902; R. H. Charles: *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893).

² Dillmann: *Ascensio Isaïæ* (Leipzig, 1877).

³ There is considerable divergence as to which books exactly are, or are not, canonical. They treat collections of Fathers, Decrees of General Councils, even civil laws, with enormous reverence, and often write them in the same book as the Old and New Testaments. Perhaps it is best to say that Copts and Abyssinians have not yet arrived at a clear idea of inspired Scripture as a distinct category, just as they are vague as to the specific idea of a Sacrament (see p. 262). Petrus Ethyops (p. 316, n. 3) published the New Testament (Rome, 1548), Ludolf the Psalter (Frankfurt, 1701); other books have been printed by various people. All these are now superseded by Dillmann's great edition of the whole Ethiopic Bible—hitherto three volumes are published (Leipzig-Berlin, 1853-1894).

before marriage a great number of men live with several ladies, with whom they make a temporary arrangement. This seems to be exceedingly common, tolerated by public opinion, almost a recognized institution. But it is not marriage; no priest has anything to do with the bargain for mutual sin, no man living in such a way can go to Confession or receive Communion. It appears that even lax public opinion looks upon marriage as much more respectable. The accusation of Abyssinian polygamy then means that many young men live disorderly lives—the same might be said of London; that public opinion is lax—in England it is not exactly severe; that the Church should do more to put down rampant sin—we might do more in Europe too.

However, all travellers seem to agree that Christianity in Abyssinia is in a very low state. The people are at best only half civilized, the clergy are almost as illiterate as the laity. Some accusations I very much doubt. When I see that a Protestant traveller says that the priests take money to forgive sins, I remember that many of them think that Catholics do so. Inveighing against superstitions, ignorance, and so on leaves us cold when we reflect that they often say much the same of us. For if a man can remain as grossly ignorant of an institution at his very door as many well-meaning Protestants are of us, how shall he understand Ethiopia? But if it be true that Abyssinians adore our Lady as God, believe that she dwells in sacred trees, holy wells and high places, this is very bad. They appear to have an extensive demonology; there are were-wolves, devil-serpents and devil-hyænas. There is a special lady-devil who eats small children. These are smoked out with fire and conjured away with amulets containing holy words. I can certify that all the Ethiopians I have seen, and their churches, are appallingly dirty. They anoint their black faces with oil, which runs down even to the hem of their garment. But it would be absurd to mind that. If a man is an African he is an African. In any case they are Christians.¹ *Coram illo procident Aethiopes.*

¹ The proud mark of an Abyssinian Christian is the blue cord he wears always round his neck; on it are strung crosses, amulets, toothpicks, scratchers, and so on. He also carries in his belt two or three pistols, and perhaps five daggers. At his side hang a broadsword and a rapier; a gun

Summary

The kingdom of Abyssinia in the middle of East Africa is Christian. The gospel was first preached here by St. Frumentius and St. Aedesius. From Frumentius descends the line of Metropolitans of Aksum, called Abūna. The Church depends on that of the Copts, is under the Coptic Patriarch, and shares the Coptic heresy. Abūna is always a Coptic monk, ordained in Egypt. For one century (roughly 1550–1650), under Portuguese influence, it was Uniate. The Abyssinians use a rite based on that of the Copts, in the old form of their language (Ge'ez). Their faith and canon law are Coptic, with variations of their own. They are certainly backward in civilization and are said to have remnants of pagan superstition. They judaize in many points and pay great reverence to an ark in every church, made on the model of the Ark of the Covenant, which they keep at Aksum. Their king, Negush Negashti, is the Lion of the tribe of Judah, because he descends from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In any case, surrounded by Islam, he upholds the name of Christ in his wild mountains.

is slung across his back, and he carries one in his hand. A gentleman of quality is followed by his servants who carry the rest of his weapons—several more guns and swords, a bayonet or two, pistols and daggers.

CHAPTER X

THE JACOBITES

THE Jacobites are the Monophysites of Syria. They have never been more than a comparatively small, poor and scattered sect. They never succeeded in capturing all Syria, as their co-religionists the Copts captured all Egypt. Now, especially, they are a very small body scattered around Diyārbakr, with colonies in most Syrian towns. In religion they agree with the Copts, with whom they are in communion. In rite they are quite different. They alone keep, in the Syriac language, the old rite of Antioch. This is perhaps the chief importance of the sect to students.¹

1. The Foundation of the Jacobite Church

In discussing the general history of Monophysism we have seen that already in the 5th century the Egyptian party (against Chalcedon) made many converts, especially monks, in Palestine

¹ For all Jacobite history the chief sources are the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* (Michael I, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, 1166–1199), ed. in Syriac and French by J. B. Chabot (Paris, 4 vols., 1899–1910), and Barhebraeus (Gregory Abu-lFarāġ ibn Harūn, called Bar 'Ebrāyā, Mafrian († 1286) : *Chronicle*, of which the Ecclesiastical history has been edited by J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy : *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum* (two sections in three volumes, Louvain, 1872–1877, Syriac and Latin). Barhebraeus was a prolific writer, and one of the most learned men the learned little sect produced (p. 330). However, a comparison shows that he took most of the matter of his Chronicle from Michael. Joseph Simon Assemani : *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii. : *De Scriptoribus Syris Monophysitis* (Rome, 1721), with a *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, contains a mass of material. But the *Dissertatio* is not paged.

and Syria (p. 183). These are the beginning of the present Jacobite Church. At first, as in Egypt, the Monophysites were rather a party within the Church than a separate sect (see p. 216). They did not set up rival sees, but tried, with varying success, to capture the existing ones. In Jerusalem they drove out Juvenal, set up a Monophysite, Theodosius, in 452, and supported him by Monophysite suffragans. But the Government soon drove these people out. At Antioch for a long time there were alternate vicissitudes of Monophysite and Chalcedonian Patriarchs. The great leaders of the heresy in Syria got temporary possession of the see—Peter the Fuller (471, 475), Severus (512—after 536).¹ At last Justinian I (527–565) made a firm stand for Chalcedon, expelled all Monophysite bishops, and demanded acceptance of the council from everyone. The Monophysites lost ground throughout Syria. It seemed as if the sect were about to die out. But the Emperor's wife, Theodora, was their friend; she succeeded in restoring their hopes and giving them a hierarchy. The man who did this under her protection, the restorer of the sect in Syria, in some sort the founder of the present Jacobite Church, is *James Baradai*.² He was born at Tella early in the 6th century, and became a monk at Constantinople. He owes his nickname Baradai to the fact that later, as the organizer of Syrian Monophysism, he went about in a ragged cloak.³ When he was at Constantinople his heresy (he was always a Monophysite) was at a very low ebb. John of Ephesus⁴ says that only two or three of their bishops remained out of prison.⁵ Theodosius, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria (p. 220), was in prison in the capital. Under the Empress's protection he, to save the situation, ordained two bishops—Theodore for Bosra and the South, James Baradai for Edessa and the East (probably in 543). As

¹ For these earlier Monophysite disturbances see pp. 190, 192, 196.

² In Syriac Ya'ḫub burd'āyā (or burd'ānā; see Barhebræus: *ed. cit.* ii. 97).

³ Barda'thā, a coarse horse-cloth (from bardūnā, a mule). The Greeks call him Ἰάκωβος Τζάντζαλος.

⁴ John of Ephesus († after 585; see p. 305, n. 3) is the chief authority for this story.

⁵ J. M. Schönfelder: *Die Kirchengesch. des Johannes v. Ephesus* (Munich, 1862), i. chap. xxxiv. (pp. 33–34).

soon as Baradai was ordained he began those amazing journeys up and down Syria which fill the rest of his life, by which he practically re-created his sect, for which certainly he deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Jacobites who inherit his name.¹ He was, of course, compelled to hide from the Government (then rigidly enforcing the decrees of Chalcedon). Fleeing always from the officials, soldiers and Melkite bishops, disguised in the ragged cloak which his name has made famous, for nearly forty years James travelled over Syria, Egypt, Thrace and the islands of the Archipelago. For a great part of his missionary journeys he was accompanied by two monks, Konon and Eugene, whom he had sent to Egypt to be ordained bishop, so that he with them could ordain others.² Everywhere he fanned into flame the dying embers of Monophysism. He is said to have ordained twenty-seven bishops and one hundred thousand priests and deacons³ for his sect. He acted always in friendly co-operation with the Egyptian Monophysites. But he was not so much wanted there, where the party was already strong. His work was in Syria. He did not himself become Patriarch of Antioch, but he ordained two. When Severus of Antioch was dead in exile (c. 543)⁴ he ordained Sergius of Tella (543-546) to succeed him,⁵ then an Egyptian monk, Paul. From these descends the line of Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch, by the side of their Orthodox rivals. From this time, then, we may count the Syrian Jacobites as a separate sect. Worn out by his labours, Baradai died in 578. Although the Monophysites of Syria naturally look back to Severus of Antioch⁶ as their great champion, we may rightly

¹ See p. 336.

² There was already the general rule that it takes at least three bishops to ordain one.

³ Assemani: *Bibl. Or.* ii. (Diss. de Monoph.) v. says he ordained more than two thousand priests.

⁴ Gustav Krüger says that Severus died in 538 (*Prot. Realenc.* xviii. 256).

⁵ So the *Life of James Baradai in Land* (*Anecdota syriaca*, ii. 256). Lamy doubts whether Baradai ordained Sergius (Barhebræus, i. 214, n. 2).

⁶ "The Patriarch Severus, the excellent, clothed with light, occupant of the See of Antioch, who became a horn of salvation to the Orthodox Church (the Monophysites)." *Hist. of the Patr. of Alexandria* (ed. cit.), p. [185], see Barhebræus i. 194: "the holy Severus, scorning life and despising earthly glory."

consider their sect, as a separate organized body, to be founded by the James after whom they are called Jacobites.¹

2. The Jacobites in the Past

From the foundation of the sect till modern times there are not many events of importance to chronicle. Through all the vicissitudes of Syrian history, for thirteen centuries, we must conceive this Church as existing obscurely by the side of the Orthodox and the Nestorians. Its first general note is that it has always been a small and scattered body. It never became the national Church of the whole country, as did the Copts in Egypt. The reason of this lies in the different state of the two countries. Egypt is practically an island, surrounded by desert and sea, peopled by one race with one language. For centuries it had been one mighty kingdom under Pharaoh. It was also at some distance by sea from the centre of the empire at Constantinople. So Egypt was always one isolated, compact whole. All Egypt moved together. When it became part of the Roman Empire it was still one land, inhabited by one non-Roman race, much as it is now under British control. The Roman, then Greek functionaries were a small minority of foreigners, as the English are now. So it was natural that a national movement, as was Monophysism, should become the cause of the whole land. Nothing of this applies to Syria. Syria (with Palestine) has no natural frontiers. It has always been the home of several races, keeping their own languages. It is in no sense one, neither physically nor in population. It is also quite near and most accessible from Greece and Constantinople. From the time of Alexander it has had a large and powerful Greek population, which had become as much one of its constituent races as the others. Greek influence, Greek language, which in Egypt were foreign, became in Syria almost as much native as Syriac; and the Emperor could fill Syria with his soldiers, could impose his will on it much more easily than in distant Egypt. So Monophysism, imported into Syria from

¹ Barhebraeus knows and admits this name (*Chron. Eccl.* i. 218). For Baradai see John of Ephesus: *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Cureton, Oxford, 1853); Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 62-69; H. G. Kley: *Jacobus Baradeüs, de stichter der syrische monophysietische Kerk* (Leiden, 1882).

Egypt, never became a national cause of the whole country. East Syria had adopted the extreme opposite heresy—Nestorianism. All over Syria the Orthodox were always a large body. Nor was their faith a foreign Greek religion, as in Egypt. Great numbers of native Syrians were and remained Orthodox. The lines of Orthodox bishops and patriarchs were never interrupted. All Baradai's efforts only produced a new sect by the side of the Orthodox Church. At no time in their history were the Jacobites as numerous as the Orthodox in Syria.

As long as the empire held their country the Jacobites were persecuted; the continual efforts of the Government to bring Monophysites to communion with the Orthodox, either by force or by various compromises, naturally affected them too. Then came the Moslem Arabs. In 634 they defeated the Roman army at Yarmuk; they took Damascus, Antioch, Jerusalem, occupied the whole country, and from 661 to 750 made Damascus the centre of their vast dominion. From that time all Christian Churches were equally subject to Moslem rule. The Jacobites received the same terms as the Orthodox and Nestorians. They, too, became a "nation" of Christians; they suffered intermittent fierce persecution, as did the rival Churches. By virtue of the astonishing power of survival, common to all Christian bodies in the East, they lasted through the dark centuries which followed. They lost numbers of apostates to Islam, they had their own internal affairs, obscure quarrels among themselves. But one Jacobite Patriarch succeeded another; their lines of bishops, though gradually reduced in numbers, went on; they are still there, scattered about Syria, a small, poor sect,¹ which still loathes Chalcedon, glories in the memory of Severus and Baradai, and is in communion with the Copts.

There are several points to notice during this time. It is curious that the Jacobites did not attempt to keep up a Jacobite line of Patriarchs of Jerusalem. They had followers in Palestine, and once the Monophysites had intruded a man of their party there (Theodosius, p. 189). But they let that succession go.

¹ Already in the 13th century Barhebræus' brother (who continued his Chronicle) calls them "the small and weak people of the Jacobites" (*ed. cit.* ii. 474).

The Orthodox were allowed to keep the line of Jerusalem unchallenged. We hear incidentally of a Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem, Severus, who ordained Athanasius I of Antioch (595-631),¹ but after of no other till the time of the Crusades. Then they made Ignatius I Metropolitan of Jerusalem, to save their people from the Latin Patriarchs. He reigned from about 1140 for forty-five years.² With him begins a regular line of Jacobite Bishops of Jerusalem. These were sometimes (rarely) called Patriarchs.³ Now the title of Jerusalem is merged in that of the Mafrian (see p. 340). The one Patriarch whom they all obey is he of Antioch, successor of Sergius of Tella whom Baradai ordained (p. 325). Another curious point is that their Church shifted gradually towards the East. At first the situation was simple: East Syria was Nestorian, West Syria Jacobite. This old distinction is still kept in their liturgical language and characters. Jacobite liturgies are in the West Syrian dialect, written in West Syrian letters, different from those of the Nestorians (p. 18, n. 1). But in the West and in Palestine, the Orthodox were strong. So the Jacobites moved eastward and soon came into contact with their great adversaries—the Nestorians. They even got a footing in Persia. Here they became the rival body to Nestorians. Each was *the* heretical body to the other. We have noted how they agreed in one thing, that their respective theories were the only alternative; neither took into account a third possibility—that a man might be neither a Nestorian nor a Monophysite (p. 54).⁴ A result of the smallness and poverty of the Jacobites is that their Patriarch has never been able to live in his titular city—Antioch. Antioch itself was held as a stronghold by the Orthodox. The Jacobite claimant⁵ wandered about Syria, chiefly to the East, as that became the centre of gravity of his sect. He resided often at Amida, which is now Diyarbakr,

¹ Barhebræus, i. 262.

² *Ib.* i. 496, 596. Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* ii. (Diss. de Mon.), § viii. (*sic* for vii.).

³ Lequien, ii. 1443.

⁴ There is also always the curious position that a man who accepts Chalcedon is called a Nestorian by Monophysites, and a Monophysite by Nestorians.

⁵ A list of Jacobite Patriarchs will be found in Lequien: *Orient. Christ.* ii. 724-776, and Barhebræus: *Chron. Eccl.* (ed. cit. vol. i.).

sometimes in various monasteries of his party, for considerable intervals at the monastery Dair Za'faran, north of Mardīn in Mesopotamia. Already, in the end of the 6th century, Jacobitism obtained a foothold in Persia. Tagrīth on the Tigris, and the famous monastery of Mār Mattai in the heart of the Nestorian country, south-east of Mosul, were the centres from which their missionaries spread in all directions. They converted a number of Nestorians, among others Gabriel of Shiggar, chief medical adviser of King Chosroes II (590-628). Even the King's chief wife, Shirin, became a Jacobite Christian.¹ The Jacobites had a Metropolitan for Persia (under their Patriarch of Antioch) who at first lived at Mār Mattai. In the 7th century their Patriarch Athanasius I (595-631) organized the Persian mission on a larger footing. Chosroes II, after his victories, had brought a great number of Syrian prisoners back to Persia, who were mostly Monophysites. Athanasius moved the Metropolitan see to Tagrīth. Here Maruthā, a monk who had been a zealous missionary, ruled over twelve suffragans in Persia.² Then he made three more sees.³ Later the Persian Jacobite Metropolitan acquired a special title, famous in the history of this sect, which still exists; he was the *Mafrian* (mafryânā, p. 340). Naturally the Nestorian Katholikos always detests Jacobite activities in his territory and excommunicates the Mafrian and his adherents as obstinate heretics.

The Jacobites, nevertheless, continued to make converts. They had during the Middle Ages flourishing schools of theology, philosophy, history and science of all kinds, so that their sect at one time held an exceedingly high place in the history of Christian literature. Notably in the 12th century was there a great revival of letters among the Jacobites.⁴ One of their great scholars was the Patriarch Michael I (1166-1199), the same who condemned Mark ibn alḲanbar in Egypt (p. 241). His

¹ For Jacobite Missions in Persia see Labourt: *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, pp. 217-221.

² Barhebræus: *Chron. Eccl.* ii. 118-128.

³ *Ib.* Labourt (*op. cit.* p. 241) considers fifteen sees to be impossible in the 7th century.

⁴ Duval (*Littér. syriaque*) and Wright (*Syriac Literature*) give an idea of this.

great work is a *Chronicle*, only lately discovered.¹ This is now the chief source for Nestorian and Jacobite history.² A liturgy is also ascribed to him.³ The most notable, perhaps the greatest man they ever had, is Barhebræus. His original name was John Abū-lFarāġ; he was of Jewish descent, hence his nickname Barhebræus.⁴ He was born at Melitene on the Euphrates (north of Edessa) in 1226; after many troubles at the time of the Tartar invasion (1243), he came to Antioch. Here he became a monk, no doubt in order to qualify for the episcopate. He went to Tripolis (then under the Franks), where he had a Nestorian teacher. At Antioch and Tripolis he studied medicine, rhetoric, philosophy and many things, so that he became one of the most learned men of his age. In 1246 the Jacobite Patriarch (Ignatius II, 1222-1252) ordained him bishop, when he took the name Gregory; in 1264 he became Mafrian. In spite of his numerous duties as Mafrian he found time to write on philosophy, theology, physics, astronomy, mathematics. He knew Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, but not much Greek. He was a famous physician, and wrote on medicine too; he composed a Syriac grammar, commentaries on the Bible, and a collection of Jacobite Canons. But to us his most valuable work is his *Universal History*, in great part adapted from Michael I's *Chronicle*. Parts II and III of this are an invaluable source for Jacobite and Nestorian history, from their first schisms down to his own time (13th century).⁵ He has not as much prejudice against the Nestorians as one would expect. He died in 1286, respected by everyone. Orthodox, Jacobites, Nestorians and Armenians for once joined to honour the memory of so learned a man. He is buried at Mâr Mattai.⁶

¹ A bad Armenian version was already known (Duval: *op. cit.* p. 207).

² Edited with a translation by J. Chabot (p. 323, n. 1).

³ Renaudot: *Lit. Or. Coll.* ii. 437-447 (see below, p. 347).

⁴ Syriac: Bar 'Ebrâyâ.

⁵ Continued by others down to 1496 (see p. 323, n. 1).

⁶ Badger describes his tomb: *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, i. 97. For Barhebræus see Duval: *Littér. syriaque*, 208-210, 409-411; Wright: *Hist. of Syriac Literature*, 265-281; and his own work: *Chron. Eccl.* ii. 431-486. There is a sketch of Barhebræus in Th. Nöldeke's: *Orientalische Skizzen* (Berlin, 1892), 253-273. His brother says of Barhebræus: "I am not able to define nor to describe in a book his kindness, humility and

The Jacobites had the first and one of the most brilliant schools of liturgical science. Their bishop of Edessa, James († 708), wrote a liturgy, a compilation of prayers for the Divine Office, homilies on their rite, and letters on liturgical subjects.¹ Very many Jacobites followed in his steps. Benjamin of Edessa, Lazarus bar Sabtâ, Bishop of Bagdad (deposed in 829),² Moses bar Kêfâ, Bishop of Mosul († 903, as bishop his name was Severus)³ wrote valuable treatises on the Jacobite liturgy. Especially Dionysius bar Šalībī († 1171), Bishop of Amida, is famous as the author of a treatise (on St. James' liturgy)⁴ such as no other Church could show in the Middle Ages. The result of this is that we know more about the history of the Jacobite rite than of any other.

About the 12th century the Jacobite Church was probably in its most flourishing state. The Patriarch had then, immediately subject to himself, twenty Metropolitans and about a hundred bishops in Syria, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and eighteen more bishops under the Mafrian in the East.⁵ But the Patriarchal dignity itself does not seem to have been much coveted. Barhebræus says that he is better off as Mafrian.⁶ Shahrastānī (12th century) knows the Jacobites and gives a fairly accurate account of their views.⁷ On the whole, they were a tolerant and kindly folk, who got on with their neighbours of other religions better than most people in the Middle Ages. In their zeal for scholarship they seem always to have been ready to learn from others. We saw that Barhebræus had a Nestorian master at Tripolis (p. 330); later he employed Orthodox artists to work for him;⁸ he even writes scornfully of the differences between Christians, thinking it a pity that they run after Nestorius or Baradai, whereas Christ alone matters, and he quotes I Cor. iii. 5.⁹ The mild and harmless little sect was treated

meekness, nor his sweet conversation and high soul, because I am rude, weak and not eloquent. I must rather be silent, trusting that the masters and brethren and approved teachers who knew him well will give him credit for his virtues" (*ed. cit.* ii. 486).

¹ Duval: *Littér. syr.* 375-378.

² *Ib.* 389.

³ *Ib.* 391-392.

⁴ *Expositio liturgiæ* (*cf.* p. 191).

⁵ Assemani: *Diss. de Monoph.* § viii.

⁶ Barhebræus, ii. 460.

⁷ Ed. Haarbrücker, i. 267-270.

⁸ Barhebræus, ii. 464.

⁹ Nöldeke: *Orient. Skizzen*, 267.

kindly by its neighbours on many occasions. When Barhebræus entered Bagdad as Mafrian in 1265, the Nestorian Katholikos (Mkikâ, 1257-1281) sent his two nephews and a deputation to welcome him.¹ Mâr Yaballâhâ III (1281-1317, p. 97) was very well disposed towards Jacobites.² Even with the Crusaders, who persecuted all schismatics, Jacobite relations were not always bad. Sometimes the Latins ill-treated them ;³ at other times they seem to have got on well together. Michael I praised the tolerance of the Franks.⁴

The sect at one time had several outlying colonies. Even as late as the 11th century they still had a community and a church at Constantinople.⁵ They had a great monastery "of the Mother of God" in the Nitrian desert,⁶ and many churches in Egypt.⁷ For their relations with Armenians see p. 432, n. 3. But throughout their history they have had continual quarrels, schisms and rival Patriarchs among themselves. From about the 6th till after the 8th century there was in Syria a smaller Monophysite body, the "Julianists" who were apthartolatrians (p. 207); these had their own Patriarch.⁸ In Barhebræus' time there was a schism, and two Patriarchs. Dionysius of Melitene was elected without the consent of the Mafrian (John Bar M'adene) in 1252. This was against the canons (p. 337); so Bar M'adene not only refused to recognize him, but got himself elected rival Patriarch. Both then began bribing Moslem officials, Jacobite bishops and notables in order to be recognized. Barhebræus was on Dionysius' side and was employed as a go-between. The schism lasted till Dionysius, who had murdered his two nephews, was himself murdered by the monks of Mâr Bar Şaumâ, while he was standing at the altar during the Night Office on February 18, 1261.⁹

But the great trouble was from 1292 to 1495. During these two

¹ Barhebræus, ii. 436.

² Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* 267.

³ Martin: *Les premiers princes croisés et les Syriens Jacobites de Jérusalem*; "Journ. asiatique," viii. 12 (1888), pp. 471-490.

⁴ Ed. Chabot, iii. 183, 222: "The Pontiffs of our Church were among them, without being persecuted or hurt."

⁵ *Ib.* iii. 185.

⁶ Dair asSuriani; Butler: *Anc. Coptic Churches*, i. 316-326.

⁷ Baumstark: *Festbrevier u. Kirchenjahr der Syr. Jakobiten* (Paderborn, 1911), p. 10.

⁸ Michael I (ed. Chabot), ii. 263-267.

⁹ Barhebræus, i. 696-744.

centuries there were formidable schisms among the Jacobites, resulting in no less than four rival Patriarchs.

In 1292 the Patriarch Ignatius IV died. His name had been Philoxenus or Nimrod.¹ His election had been disputed and he is said to have been ordained by force (in 1283).² When he died the quarrel revived and three men were made Patriarch, each by a party. They were Constantine Metropolitan of Meliṭine, Michael Archimandrite of Gawikāth and Bdarzāke³ Bar Wahīb of Mardīn. Michael and Bdarzāke both took the name Ignatius, according to what was already the custom (see p. 338). Constantine was killed the next year by the Kurds; Michael reigned at Sis in Cilicia, Bdarzāke at Mardīn and Ṭur 'Abdīn.⁴ But other rivals spring up, so that for a time there seem to have been four lines, at Mardīn, Sis, at the monastery of Mār Bar Ṣaumā, and at Ṭur 'Abdīn. Then two were left, Ignatius Mas'ūd at Ṭur 'Abdīn and Ignatius Noah at Mardīn (1493-1509). Mas'ūd retired to a monastery in 1495, forbade his followers to choose a successor to him, and exhorted them to submit to Ignatius Noah. This they did; so Noah (who was Ignatius XII) at last united all the sect under his authority.⁵

During all the Middle Ages elections bought for money and bribery of all kinds were common.⁶

In the 14th century especially the Jacobites were persecuted by Moslems; from that time their sect shrank to a small body. In the 16th century they consisted of only fifty thousand poor families; in the 17th their Patriarch had five Metropolitans and about twenty bishops under him. From that time begins the Uniate Syrian Church, of which in our next volume. Meanwhile the Mafrian was no longer really the head of the Eastern Jacobites, but had become a titular Metropolitan, second to the Patriarch and something like his Vicar-General (p. 340).

Their relations with the Copts are interesting. They profess

¹ *Ib.* i. 782.

² *Ib.* 780.

³ Bdarzāke = "The conqueror scatters," or it may be Arabic: Badr zakāh, "Splendour of Purity."

⁴ Barhebræus, i. 782-792.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 847.

⁶ For the Jacobite successions see Chabot: "Les Évêques jacobites" in the *Revue de l'Orient chrét.* 1899, pp. 444-451, 495-511; Lequien: *Or. Christ.* ii. 1357-1408, and, of course, Barhebræus, vol. i.

the same faith¹ and are normally in communion with them. Indeed, the Jacobites have always looked up to the Copts as the leaders of their religion, as a larger and wealthier body; also because the old canon law, which in this point they maintain, gives Alexandria precedence over Antioch. But they are a quarrelsome folk, and frequent schisms have interrupted these good relations. Under Damian of Alexandria (570–593 or 605) and Peter Ḳalluniḳyâ of Antioch (578–591)² there was a schism concerning some dispute about the Holy Trinity.³ It lasted till Anastasius of Alexandria (603–614) and Athanasius I of Antioch (595–631), who came to Egypt and made peace.⁴ The illegitimate succession of Isaac of Ḥaran as Patriarch of Antioch in 754⁵ caused another schism with Egypt.⁶ Under Ḳuryaḳus (Cyriacus I) of Antioch (793–817), the Jacobites set up an anti-patriarch, Abraham (or Abira). Many followed him and this caused again a schism with the Copts, which lasted till 825.⁷ Under Christodulos of Alexandria (1047–1078) there was schism, because the Jacobites mixed salt and oil with the bread for the Holy Eucharist, which the Copts would not allow.⁸ In the 12th century the question of Confession raised by Mark ibn alḲanbar (p. 241) made a schism, since the Jacobites wavered.⁹ However, except for such quarrels as these, the two sects have been in communion. Each

¹ Practically. See p. 342.

² Counting St. Peter as first Patriarch, and Peter Fullo, he would be Peter III (Lequien, ii. 1359).

³ Barhebræus says that Damian was guilty of Tritheism, "because" he called the notional properties (dîlâyâthâ maiḳnâniyâthâ) of the Holy Trinity persons (ḳnûme). *Ed. cit.* i. 257. Severus of Al-Ushmunain, on the Coptic side, says that Peter of Antioch was like a deaf asp, and "divided the undivided Trinity" with "a tongue which deserved to be cut out" (*ed. Evetts*, p. [213]).

⁴ See above, p. 222; Barhebræus, i. 270; Severus, pp. [216–217]. When Athanasius received the Synodical letter of Anastasius he said: "The world to-day rejoices in peace and love, because the Chalcedonian darkness has passed away" (*ib.*).

⁵ He was already a bishop (see p. 231); Barhebræus, i. 316.

⁶ *Bibl. Orient.* ii. (Diss. de Mon.) § iii. Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 217. His account, taken from AlMakîn, is inaccurate. He makes John II, Isaac's predecessor, the uncanonically transferred bishop.

⁷ Barhebræus, i. 342, 360; Renaudot: *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 248–249, 270.

⁸ Renaudot, 425; Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* loc. cit.

⁹ Barhebræus, i. 574–576.

new Monophysite Patriarch sends an announcement of his succession and "Synodical letters" to his brother Patriarch, asking for his prayers and inter-communion. This custom began when Athanasius I of Antioch and Anastasius I of Alexandria made peace (p. 222).

A great quarrel, which however did not lead to a schism, occurred when Cyril III (Ibn Luklus) of Alexandria (1235-1243 or 1250) ordained a Coptic Metropolitan for Jerusalem. This was certainly a wrong done to Antioch. The frontier of the two Patriarchates does not seem to have been very clearly marked (Barhebræus says it was at al'Arish);¹ but in any case Jerusalem would belong to Antioch. The Jacobites had a Metropolitan there (p. 328). They remonstrated and their Patriarch, Ignatius (David) II (1222-1252), as a kind of revenge, ordained a bishop for Abyssinia. Eventually the Copts promised that their bishop of Jerusalem should not use jurisdiction beyond the frontier of Egypt (which they said was at Gaza).² In spite of this they keep a Metropolitan of Jerusalem at Jaffa, who orders the affairs of their colony in Palestine (p. 256). About 1840 Mr. J. W. Etheridge visited the Jacobites and wrote an account of their Church.³ Mr. G. P. Badger, when visiting the Nestorians in 1842 (p. 118), also examined the Jacobites and wrote an interesting account of them.⁴ He wanted Anglicans to missionize this body; but, so far, hardly any such attempt has been made. In 1892 Mr. Oswald H. Parry visited the Jacobite Patriarch, to see what prospect there might be of an Anglican mission to his people (no doubt on the lines of the mission to the Nestorians);⁵ but nothing seems to have come of it. There is a small Low Church mission in Jerusalem, conducted by a lady, which makes a few converts. But American Protestants are active among the Jacobites. American Congregationalists and Presbyterians have divided Mesopotamia between themselves, and have mission stations at most centres.

¹ Barhebræus, i. 657.

² Barhebræus, i. 656-664; Renaudot, 579-580; Assemani: *loc. cit.* § vi. The Franks supported the Copts in this quarrel.

³ Etheridge: *The Syrian Churches* (Longmans, Green, 1846).

⁴ Badger: *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (Masters, 1852), i. chap. vi. pp. 59-65, etc.

⁵ Parry: *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery* (London, 1895), pp. 312-313.

As usual they began with the idea, not of making converts, but of educating and spiritualizing, then quarrelled with the hierarchy, and now have small sects of ex-Jacobite Protestants.¹

3. Organization and Hierarchy

The name Jacobite, known to us in England in a more honourable connection,² is since about the 8th century the usual one for the Monophysite Church of Syria.³ It has been explained in other ways, for instance, as derived from St. James the Less (whose rite they use) ; but there is no doubt that it comes really from James⁴ Baradai (p. 324).

The total number of Jacobites is now estimated at about eighty thousand.⁵ Most of them live in the district of Ṭur 'Abdīn by the upper Tigris, between Diyārbakr and Mardīn. Here are about one hundred and fifty Jacobite villages. They have smaller colonies at Diyārbakr, Edessa, Mosul, very few families at Bagdad, Damascus, Aleppo,⁶ hardly any in Palestine, except a small colony at Jerusalem. They are now a poor and backward people, neglected by the more advanced parts of Christendom, suffering still from centuries of oppression and isolation, generally despised by their neighbours. All who know them admit that the Monophysite Jacobites stand far behind their brothers who have returned to union with Rome.⁷ All talk Arabic, except thirty or forty villages in Ṭur 'Abdīn, who still speak Syriac.⁸

¹ Parry: *ib.* 306-310.

² It is interesting to note that Eusèbe Renaudot, the great authority for all Eastern Churches († 1720), was employed by Lewis XIV to assist the English refugees at St. Germain (Villien: *L'abbé Eusèbe Renaudot*, Paris, 1904, pp. 48-55). So he had to do with Jacobites in both senses of the word.

³ It occurs among the anathemas of the Second Council of Nicæa (787): "To all Eutychians and Monotheletes and Jacobites anathema thrice." Of course the Jacobites always call themselves orthodox.

⁴ Ya'kūb, Jacobus. "Jacobite" is in Syriac Ya'kubâyâ or Ya'kubîthâ; Arabic: Ya'kūbiyah.

⁵ Etheridge in 1846 gives their number as one hundred and fifty thousand (*op. cit.* p. 149) ; Socin (*Der neu-aramäische Dialekt des Ṭur 'Abdīn*, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1881, pp. iv-v) says there are only forty thousand ; Badger (*op. cit.* i. 62) says about one hundred thousand (in 1842). Parry says one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand (*Six Months*, p. 345).

⁶ Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo have large Syrian Uniate communities. There are Uniates throughout the Jacobite country.

⁷ E.g. Badger: *op. cit.* i. 63-64.

⁸ Cf. Socin: *op. cit.* p. vi.

Over this scattered flock rules the Jacobite "Patriarch of Antioch, the Divinely-protected City, and of all the domain of the Apostolic Throne." He is always a monk. He receives a berat from the Government. The bishops, under the Mafrian, elect him. A great principle has always been that: "Neither the Patriarch without the Mafrian, nor the Mafrian without the Patriarch can be appointed."¹ There have been cases of election by lot.² The old rule was very clear against the translation of a bishop from one see to another; so the Patriarch was never already a bishop. But isolated exceptions to this rule occur fairly early. Thus in 668 the Metropolitan of Tarsus had been Metropolitan of Amida,³ Athanasius VII (Patriarch, 1090-1129) transferred the Metropolitan of Gubos to Melitine.⁴ One of the first cases of a Patriarch already a bishop was that of Athanasius VI (Ḥaye, 1058-c. 1064), who had been bishop of Arishmitat (Arsamosata), and at his election there was a tumult and a schism for this very reason.⁵ Then the custom of transferring bishops became more and more common. Eventually the Mafrian himself constantly became Patriarch, in direct opposition to the old principle. In the 15th century the continuer of Barhebræus says: "It was the custom that either the Mafrian should be made Patriarch himself, or that he should ordain whomever he thinks fit."⁶ Now the Mafrian generally become Patriarch. Since the Patriarch appoints the Mafrian, this means practically naming his own successor. Barhebræus insists strongly that if the Patriarch is already a bishop, he should not be reordained, but only the additional special prayers and ceremonies for a Patriarch's ordination should be used.⁷ In the old days the Patriarch was ordained by the senior bishops. Then the custom was that the Mafrian should ordain him, and *vice versa*. The first case of this was the ordination of Dionysius V (1077-1078). Now that he is himself generally the Mafrian, they return (in such cases) necessarily to the old rule. Barhebræus gives an account of the office of each bishop at a Patriarchal consecration in his time (in his account of Michael I's consecration, 1166). The Mafrian ordains, and twelve other

¹ Barhebræus, ii. 130, 456.

² So John II (740-754), *ib.* i. 306-308.

³ *Ib.* i. 284.

⁴ *Ib.* i. 466.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 438.

⁶ *Ib.* ii. 538.

⁷ *Ib.* 702, 794.

bishops also lay on their hands. The Metropolitan of Edessa celebrates the holy liturgy, he of Meliṭine reads the gospel, and he of Bar Ṣalibi the other lesson. He of Kīshum proclaims the Patriarch, he of Giḥun and he of Gubos say the prayers.¹ In the past there are many cases of the Mafrian and other bishops ordaining to the episcopate,² and once each bishop consecrated his own chrism.³ But now for centuries (apparently since the time of Barhebræus) the Patriarch alone ordains all bishops and blesses the chrism for all Jacobites.⁴

The first Patriarch to change his name for Ignatius was Ignatius III (formerly Joshua, 1264-1282).⁵ Since Ignatius V (Bar Wahīb of Mardīn in 1292, p. 333) all Jacobite Patriarchs take this name in memory of the great martyr-bishop of Antioch, who, by the way, was certainly not a Monophysite.⁶

The seat of the Patriarch has varied considerably (p. 328). Ignatius VI (Ismael, 1333-1366) was the first to reside at Ṭur 'Abdīn.⁷ Now he generally resides at Diyārbakr or Mardīn; but the church of Dair Za'farān (five miles east of Mardīn) is counted as his Patriarchal church.⁸ Indeed, although his real title is, of course, Antioch, he is now commonly called "the Patriarch of Za'farān." The present Jacobite Patriarch is Lord Ignatius 'Abdullah Sattuf. His Holiness was born at Ṣadad, a village about six hours south of Ḥomṣ, where many Jacobites live. His original name is 'Abdullah Sattuf. Having entered a monastery, he became Bishop of Ḥomṣ and Ḥama, taking the name Gregory. Then he was Metropolitan of Diyārbakr. He came once to England (as Bishop of Ḥomṣ and Ḥama), collected money and imbibed here some Protestantizing ideas. He also went to look after his co-religionists on the Malabar coast, and there fraternized

¹ Barhebræus, i. 542.

² Barhebræus says that in 629 the Patriarch refused to ordain the Mafrian, because a canon of Nicæa says that his own suffragans should do so ! (ii. 122).

³ *Bibl. Orient.* ii. (Diss. de Mon. viii. for vii.). ⁴ *Ib.* ⁵ *Ib.* i. 750.

⁶ E.g. *ad Smyrn.* iv. 2: "I bear all things, sustained by him who became a perfect man." St. Ignatius is particularly indignant with Docetism (*ib.* v.), of which Monophysism was a kind of revival.

⁷ Barhebræus, i. 802.

⁸ For a description of this, see O. H. Parry: *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery* (London, 1895), 103-111.

with Protestant missionaries. Returning to Syria he had already begun to agitate against the use of holy pictures, and otherwise



FIG. 12.—THE JACOBITE PATRIARCH MÂR IGNÂTIUS 'ABDULLAH SATTUF.

spread Protestant ideas when, as a result of some obscure quarrel, he surprised everyone by turning Uniate in 1896. He was a Syrian Uniate for nine years, and held the Uniate see of Homs. Then, in 1905, he went back to the Jacobites, received again his see of Diyârbakr and a promise of the Patriarchal throne, when it should be vacant. Soon after, in 1906, the former Patriarch, Ignatius 'Abdulmasîh, was deposed and went to Malabar. In spite of the promise it cost Sattuf much intrigue and £T350

(borrowed from the resident Jacobite bishop at Jerusalem) to secure his own election; eventually he had to spend altogether £T500. He was enthroned on August 15, 1906 (O.S.). As an exception, he has never been Mafrian. There are discontented Jacobites under him who say that His Holiness stains the Patriarchal throne by various faults, of which excessive avarice is the chief. Many hope for and expect his deposition.¹

Immediately under the Patriarch, as his assistant, counsellor, and vicar-general, comes the Mafrian (mafrîânâ).² Since the collapse of the Jacobite Church in the East (practically since the quarrels and schisms of the 14th century) the Mafrian has resided near the Patriarch, having no real see of his own, but acting as a vicar-general and auxiliary bishop. Before that he was almost a second Patriarch for Eastern Jacobites, a kind of opposition Katholikos.³ He could ordain bishops, consecrate the chrism, and so on. Now he has lost these rights. On the other hand, since he ceased to exercise jurisdiction in the East, he unites to his dignity that of their see of Jerusalem. The Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem is the Mafrian. But it appears that the institution of the Mafrian is rather in abeyance in the latest period. A Mafrian is no longer regularly appointed. They have now eight metropolitans, of Jerusalem (the Mafrian), Mosul, Mâr Mattai (the Abbot of that monastery), Mardîn, Urfah (Edessa), Harputh, and two "general" (temelâyâ) metropolitans without fixed sees. There are three simple bishops, in monasteries in Tur 'Abdîn. The Mafrian has a delegate bishop to represent him at Jerusalem. Diyârbakr itself counts normally as the Patriarch's

¹ I should perhaps add that I have these details from first-hand sources in Syria. I regret that they are more curious than edifying.

² Mafrîânâ means "fructifier" (from frâ, to make fruitful, beget). Maruthâ (the first Mafrian) made Tagrîth a fruitful soil of Jacobitism (p. 329). The name, given first to him as a compliment, became a regular title (Labourt: *Le Christianisme*, etc. p. 241). Cf. Apost. Const. viii. x. 12: Ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Michael I calls the Mafrian by a Greek name, "epîtrônîsâ" (ἐπιθροῶ), to make fruitful; or ἐπιθρονίζω? (ed. Chabot, iii. 451). In Arabic he is often called the Patriarch's "wakil" (vicar).

³ The Mafrian was sometimes called Katholikos and Wakîl (vicar) by the Jacobites. Barhebraeus gives a list of Mafrians and their lives (*Chronicon Eccl.* ii.).

own diocese ; though, as we have seen, the present Patriarch held that see before his accession. A metropolitan has no suffragans. It is now a mere title for many bishops.¹ The bishop must be celibate. He is named and ordained by the Patriarch, who at the ordination has two or three assistants. Most of their chief sees carry a new name with them ; thus the Metropolitan of Mosul is always Basil, he of Mardin always Athanasius, and so on.² There are now five Jacobite monasteries in Ṭur 'Abdīn, Mār Mattai near Mosul,³ Dair Za'farān by Diyārbakr, Mār Muse between Damascus and Palmyra, Mār Marḡus at Jerusalem north-east of the great Armenian monastery.⁴ This is only a poor remnant of the vast number of monasteries (seventy in Ṭur 'Abdīn alone) which they once had. The bishops live nearly always in monasteries. There are, I believe, no Jacobite nuns now. Secular priests must be married once only before ordination. A priest whose wife dies must go into a monastery, unless they make him an uskuf (see n. 1). There is a curious idea that the priest should come from the village he serves. When a parish priest dies the village council chooses a suitable deacon and sends him to the bishop, who ordains him without any preparatory training. The priest receives small fees from his people and ekes out these by working in the fields like anyone else. The title Chorepiskopos is a mere ornament given to priests of important parishes. The Jacobites have innumerable deacons, ordained in crowds. Most of these remain in the same state as laymen, earning their living ; but they serve as deacons in church. Most monasteries are subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary ; but those which contain tombs of Patriarchs or Mafrians are Stauropegia. All clergy shave the head entirely and, of course, wear a beard. The minor orders (singer, reader, subdeacon) are now

¹ Namely the metropolitan (Muṭrān) is a bishop who is a monk. A secular priest and widower may become an uskuf (ἐπίσκοπος), and so take a lower place in the hierarchy.

² Silbernagl : *op. cit.* 308-312.

³ Where Barhebraeus is buried. Badger : *op. cit.* i. 95-98. The adjoining monastery, Mar Behnām, is Uniate.

⁴ Behind the Ḥarat anNabī Dā'ūd. They also have a chapel in the Anastasis against the outside wall, immediately behind the Holy Sepulchre. Parry gives a list of Jacobite sees (*Six Months*, 321-323). See also *ib.* 320 for a bishop's ordination.

obsolete. Of the canon law which rules all these people the classical collection is that of Barhebræus.¹

4. The Jacobite Faith

For this we may in general refer to that of their co-religionists in Egypt (pp. 259-265). But there are one or two special points to notice. That they are Monophysites hardly needs to be said. Their formula is that our Lord is one "from two natures (now become one nature)." As they identify nature and person, they also say that he is one person "from two persons."² Like most later Monophysites, they anathematize Eutyches (p. 168). But there is some slight difference between the Monophysism of Egypt and of Syria. The Syrians were always less vehemently opposed to the Orthodox than the Egyptians. They took up the cause less hotly (p. 326), and on the whole stood nearer to the faith of the empire. So in their authors the concept of our Lord is less strictly Monophysite, less Docetic than among the Copts.³ But I doubt how far they are conscious of any difference now. Concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, although they have, of course, no *Filioque* in their creed, and declare that they believe the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father alone, Renaudot observes that they are less opposed to us on this point than the Orthodox, and he quotes from their authors sentences very like our dogma.⁴ Concerning the Sacraments they agree in general with the Copts.

¹ *Nomocanon* (Ktâbâ dHuddâye), in Latin by J. A. Assemani in *Mai: Script. vet. Nova Coll.* x. At Mardin there is a curious group of semi-Christian Jacobites who were once sun-worshippers. They put themselves under the Jacobite bishop, were baptized and conformed to his religion, in order to escape Moslem persecution in the 18th century. They are called the Shamsiyyah ("Sun-people"), and consist of about a hundred families, who live in a special quarter of the town. They conform to all Jacobite law, but also keep their own pagan observances. See Silbernagl: *op. cit.* 315-316.

² Assemani: *Bibl. Or.* ii. (Diss. de Mon.) § v.

³ See Harnack: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (4th ed., Tübingen, 1909), pp. 408-412; Kattenbusch: *Confessionskunde*, p. 223. (He says: "The Coptic Christ is a mere Wonder-being.")

⁴ *Lit. Orient. Coll.* ii. 72. Parry says they hold "a position half way between those of the Greeks and Romans," about the procession of the Holy Ghost (*Six Months*, p. 355).

They do not circumcise. It is an absurd calumny that instead of baptism they ever branded children in the cheek with a hot iron.¹ They have had strange ideas about the Holy Eucharist ; Barhebræus thinks that there is a hypostatic union between the bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ.² If we add to this the Monophysite idea about hypostatic union, we have a very strange position. They believe that the Epiklesis consecrates. They were once really defenders of Confession, as they showed at the time of Mark ibn alḲanbar³ (p. 241), though now they practise it little. But now we come to an appalling possibility. We saw that Baradaï was ordained bishop secretly at Constantinople, and then himself ordained other bishops (p. 324). All their orders come from him. But it has been said, not without some appearance of truth, that Baradaï was never ordained bishop, but only priest. So Renaudot doubts all Jacobite orders on this account.⁴ However, Assemani thinks his doubt unnecessary.⁵ Jacobites pray to saints and for the dead, as do the Copts. They deny Purgatory, but have a theory which comes to the same thing. When good people die angels take their souls to the earthly Paradise ; bad people are taken by demons somewhere very uncomfortable, outside the inhabited world, till the day of Judgement. Yet they pray already to saints.⁶

5. Rites and Liturgy

This little sect owes its importance to its rites. The Jacobites supply an excellent example showing that faith, rite and liturgical language are three totally different things, which may occur in every possible combination. For in faith they are one with the Copts ; in rite they are poles apart. Their rite has absolutely no connection with the Coptic rite, except that which joins any two Christian orders of service. The Jacobites, almost

¹ Assemani : *loc. cit.* § v.

² *Ib.* Cf. Parry : *op. cit.* 355.

³ Although they condemned Mark they defended Confession. Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi wrote : "Canons concerning the manner of receiving a penitent in the Sacrament of Confession," and an "Order" (Ṭaksâ) for administering the Sacrament. These are printed in Assemani : *Bibl. Or.* ii. 171-174.

⁴ *Lit. Orient. Coll.* i. 345-346.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* § v.

⁶ *Ib.*

alone in Christendom,¹ use the other great parent-rite of the East. As the Copts keep the old rite of Alexandria, so do the Jacobites keep that of Antioch, the parent of the Byzantine and Armenian liturgies. In rite, therefore, the Jacobites stand much nearer to their enemies the Orthodox. And in language they are one with their extreme enemies of all—the Nestorians. In the East you can never determine a man's rite by the language in which he says it,² nor his religion by his rite.³

There is little of special interest to see in a Jacobite church. They do not have the Coptic principle of three altars always; neither have they the Byzantine rule of one only. Generally there is only one; but in larger churches there may be one or more side-chapels with an altar. They seem to have no rule about an ikonostasion or haikal-screen. I have seen many churches in which there is no screen at all.⁴ In others (at Damascus, etc.) there is an ikonostasion, copied, I suppose, from the Orthodox. But there should always be at least a curtain before the altar. In front of the sanctuary stand one or two lecterns. There are the usual pictures, but poor and uninteresting as a rule.⁵ The Syrians are not an artistic folk. Their churches have nothing of the archæological interest of Coptic churches.⁶ Also they have been much affected by Orthodox and Byzantine influence. They call the sanctuary *Madbbkhâ* (literally, "altar"). On their altars stand the gospel-book, vessels, crosses and candles. Their vestments are: for a bishop, the alb (*kuthînâ*),⁷ apparently

¹ Except that the Orthodox use the Antiochene rite in two churches, once a year in each (*Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 395, n. 1), and, of course, the Syrian Uniates have the same rite as their heretical brethren, and the Maronites have a form of it.

² Hence the never to be sufficiently denounced absurdity of talking about the "Greek rite."

³ Neither can you in the West. A Jansenist uses the Roman rite in Latin; a Milanese Catholic has the Ambrosian rite; in Dalmatia Catholics use the Roman rite in Slavonic. In short, every possible combination of religion, rite and language occurs.

⁴ *E.g.* in their church at Beirût.

⁵ There seems to be a Protestantizing movement against pictures among them now. See Parry: *Six Months*, 191.

⁶ Parry gives descriptions and plans of Jacobite churches (*Six Months*, 328-337).

⁷ From *χιτών*.

always white, amice (maṣnafthâ),¹ girdle, stole (urârâ),² epimanikia (zende), phainolion (fainâ),³ omophorion (also called urârâ). He carries a pastoral staff, like that of the Copts and Byzantines. Does a Jacobite bishop (or even the Patriarch) wear a crown or mitre? Assemani says not.⁴ On the other hand, the crowning of the bishop forms a conspicuous part of his ordination rite.⁵ I am not sure, but I am inclined to think that the use of the crown has disappeared,⁶ especially since Uniate Syrian bishops have a Roman mitre, presumably in default of one of their own rite. The priest wears the alb, amice, girdle, stole, zende, fainâ; the deacon has only an alb and a stole (of a different shape) from the left shoulder, as in the Coptic rite (p. 272). The celebrant, whether priest or bishop, wears a black cap with white crosses. There are no fixed liturgical colours. It will be seen, then, that their vestments (except for the mitre) are the same as those of the Copts (pp. 272-274). In ordinary life the clergy wear a black or dark cassock ('abâ') and a peculiarly shaped black turban, which may be seen in fig. 12, p. 339. The Patriarch wears a gold pectoral cross, and, on state occasions, a scarlet 'abâ'.

The holy liturgy is the old rite of Jerusalem-Antioch, called the Liturgy of St. James, in Syriac.⁷ This came originally from Jerusalem to Antioch, there displaced the pure Antiochene use (of which it is itself a modified form), and from the Patriarchal city spread throughout Syria. It is the most prolific of all rites, and has a large family of daughter liturgies. Of these the widespread Byzantine rite is the best known. What happened in Syria is just as in Egypt (pp. 275-276). The Greek form of St.

¹ The bishop at ordination receives a maṣnafthâ (Denzinger: *Ritus Orient.* ii. 93, 157).

² ὀπάριον. It has the form of the Byzantine epitrachelion.

³ Now shaped, as among the Copts, like our cope (p. 273).

⁴ *Bibl. Or.* ii. (Diss. de Mon.) § viii. (=vii.).

⁵ Denzinger: *op. cit.* ii. 93. His "crown" appears to be the maṣnafthâ, richly embroidered.

⁶ Etheridge (*op. cit.* 147) says the Jacobites have no mitre.

⁷ The Jacobite services are in the West-Syriac dialect, and their books are written in Serṭâ characters. Both are slightly (only slightly) different from those of the Nestorians.

James' liturgy is older ;¹ it was soon translated into Syriac, certainly before the Monophysite schism. At first it was used in Greek or Syriac indifferently. Then the Orthodox kept the Greek form,² the Jacobites used only Syriac. The Greek form was gradually Byzantinized in various details ; in the 13th century the Orthodox abandoned it altogether and adopted the Byzantine rite.³ So the rite of Antioch, once so mighty in the East, became the speciality of one little sect only.⁴ Bar Šalībi gives a curious account of its origin. It is the oldest, the most apostolic of all. On Whitsunday the apostles received the Holy Ghost ; the next day they consecrated the chrism, on Tuesday they consecrated an altar, on Wednesday St. James, the brother of the Lord, celebrated this liturgy, and, when he was asked whence he had taken it, he said : " As the Lord lives, I have neither added nor taken away anything from what I heard from our Lord." ⁵

Some Greek forms remain in the Syriac liturgy : " stumen-kālus,"⁶ " kurye elaisun," " sufiyâ," " prushumen " ; but it is not riddled with Greek formulas as is that of the Copts. The essential Jacobite liturgy consists of the *Ordo communis*, that is, all up to the anaphora and the prayers after communion, and the *anaphora*—all of St. James, corresponding to the Greek St. James. Then they have a bewildering number of alternative anaphoras, which they may substitute for that of St. James. There seems to be some strange tendency which causes just the smallest Churches to compose a multitude of anaphoras. The enormous Roman patriarchate is content with one canon all the

¹ Printed in Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, pp. 31-68.

² Though they used Syriac very considerably, too, down to the 18th century. Even after they had adopted the Byzantine rite, they said it in many places in Syriac. See Charon : *Le rite Byzantin*, in *Χρυσοστομικὴ* (Rome, 1908), pp. 499-501.

³ Probably under the influence of the same Theodore Balsamon who abolished the Greek St. Mark rite (p. 276 above ; see Charon : *op. cit.* pp. 492-493). Greek St. James is used now again twice a year in two Orthodox churches (above, p. 344, n. 1).

⁴ More about the Antiochene rite will be found in Baumstark : *Die Messe im Morgenland*, pp. 28-47, and in my book : *The Mass*, pp. 80-93.

⁵ *Ed. cit.* p. 36.

⁶ Bar Šalībi, by the way, always quotes this formula in Syriac : " nḵum shafir."

year round; the widespread Byzantine rite has two.¹ But when we come to these small sects we find numbers. The Jacobites take the first rank easily in this respect. Brightman gives the titles of sixty-four, besides that of St. James;² there are probably many more in manuscript. They are ascribed to all sorts of people: St. John the Evangelist, St. Mark, St. Peter, "the Roman Church" (excerpts from our Mass), Dioscor, Ignatius of Antioch, Severus, Barhebræus, and so on. A theory, once popular, is that originally these were meant to be used on the feasts of certain saints, then by mistake were supposed to have been written by them. This is now abandoned. There is nothing in honour of the saint in the liturgy ascribed to him, and no evidence that it was used on his feast. Many are attributed to people who have no feast. We must put down these wild attributions³ to the same Syrian genius for apocrypha which produced the Clementine romances and so many other false documents. Most of these alternative anaphoras are based upon a quite foreign tradition, have no connection with the anaphora of St. James. The oldest and most valuable, containing echoes of very ancient Antiochene forms, exists in two recensions ascribed to St. Ignatius⁴ and (probably for Syrians in Egypt) St. Athanasius.⁵ Some of them do not contain the words of institution at all,⁶ others have them in a composite and deficient form.⁷ Some (especially the late ones) are very long, inflated and full of bad rhetoric. It should be noted that the alternative liturgies involve not only a special anaphora, but, in many cases, special forms for the prayers of the faithful too.⁸

An interesting question is how far the Jacobites use their multitude of anaphoras. I think that very few occur in actual practice.

¹ Not counting the Presanctified liturgy, which is really a quite different service.

² *Op. cit.* pp. lviii–lxii.

³ Some of them (to later Jacobite leaders) may be true.

⁴ Renaudot: *Lit. Orient. Coll.* ii. 214–226.

⁵ Cf. Baumstark: *Die Messe im Morgenland*, p. 44.

⁶ E.g. St. Sixtus: Renaudot, *op. cit.* ii. 134–142.

⁷ Thomas of Heraclea, *ib.* p. 384. This anaphora also has the peculiarity that its prayers are alphabetical. The first begins with Alaf, the second with Bêth, and so on.

⁸ Renaudot (*op. cit.* ii. 126–560) prints thirty-seven of these alternative anaphoras with a note on each.

The celebrant says that of St. James, or its shorter variant form ;¹ possibly, on rare occasions, one or two of the others may be said. But most apparently slumber unused in manuscripts. Since the 15th century, as Syriac more and more became a dead language to most Jacobites, there has been a great invasion of Arabic in their liturgy. Now the lessons, the Lord's Prayer, many pro-anaphoral prayers and hymns are in Arabic, written sometimes in Karshuni.²

The order of St. James's liturgy (in its Jacobite form) is this : The celebrant and deacon say preparatory prayers, vest, prepare the altar and lay the bread³ and wine on it. Then comes the offertory of the gifts ; they are veiled. The *Liturgy of the Catechumens* begins with a sedrâ (" order "). This is a very common form of prayer in this rite. It consists (in theory) of a fixed framework (normally verses of a psalm) interspersed with short changeable prayers, much as our Invitatorium at Matins. It always has an introduction (prumyun, προίμιον). But often the framework is left out. The sedrâ is always said at the altar by the celebrant, while the deacon swings the thurible. Then comes a general incensing, with prayers. The lessons follow. There are four, from the Old Testament, Acts (or a Catholic Epistle), St. Paul, the Gospel. Between each is a Prokeimenon or Gradual, while the celebrant in a low voice says a prayer. Before the second lesson comes the Trisagion with the Monophysite clause (p. 190) ; before the Gospel Halleluyâ thrice with a verse, while they make the Little Entrance.⁴ There is now no dismissal of Catechumens.⁵ The *Liturgy of the Faithful* begins with a sedrâ (prayers of the faithful)⁶ and incensing ; the creed

¹ Renaudot, ii. 126-132.

² There is no mystery about Karshuni. It is simply Arabic written in Syriac letters, as Jews write Yiddish in Hebrew letters. It began by Syrians hearing and talking Arabic, but not being able to write it. Now it has become a tradition among Jacobites, Uniate Syrians and Maronites.

³ The bread is leavened, mixed with salt and oil, and with a portion of old " holy leaven," as among the Nestorians (p. 150).

⁴ Bar Şalibi (Latin version of Labourt, *ed. cit.*), 46.

⁵ Bar Şalibi knows an elaborate dismissal of catechumens, energumens, penitents (*ib.* 47-48). This still exists in Renaudot's version : ii. 10.

⁶ Bar Şalibi (p. 50) here describes a procession round the church with the offerings (which have lain on the altar since the beginning). It seems

follows. The celebrant washes his hands and prays for whom he will. Then come the kiss of peace and "prayer of the veil" (as he unveils the oblata). The Anaphora begins by the deacon crying out : "Stand we fairly." ¹ The people answer : "Mercies, peace, a sacrifice of praise." The celebrant gives a blessing (in the words of 2 Cor. xiii. 14). *R.* : "And with thy spirit." *Celebrant* : "The minds and hearts of all of us be on high." *R.* : "They are with the Lord our God." *Celebrant* : "Let us give thanks to the Lord with fear and worship with trembling." *R.* : "It is meet and right." *Celebrant* (in a low voice) : ² "It is very meet, right, fitting, and our bounden duty to praise thee, to bless thee, to celebrate thee, to worship thee, to give thanks to thee, the creator of every creature, visible and invisible" (aloud) ³ "whom the heavens and the heavens of heavens praise and all the hosts of them, the sun and the moon and all the choir of the stars, the earth and the sea and all that is in them, the heavenly Jerusalem, the Church of the first-born who are written in heaven . . ." So he comes to the angels ; the people take up the Sanctus, to which they add "Benedictus," etc., as in our Mass. Now, almost at once, follow the words of institution, said aloud (to which the people answer Amen), the Anamnesis and Epiklesis (also aloud, answered by Amen). A long Intercession follows, in the characteristic Antiochene place. The deacon prays in litany form for the Church, patriarch, metropolitan, for the clergy and people, kings and princes, he remembers "her who is to be called blessed and glorified of all generations of the earth, holy and blessed and ever virgin, Mother of God, Mary," and other saints ; he prays for the dead. To each clause the people say, "Kurye elaisun" ; meanwhile the celebrant prays to the same effect, ending each division of his prayer aloud. There is a blessing, then the Fraction, during which the deacon sums up

a rather meaningless imitation of the Byzantine Great Entrance. The Greek St. James has a real Great Entrance, with the chant Σιγησάτω (a Byzantine infiltration). Brightman, p. 41.

¹ In Syriac here.

² Syr. : ghântâ (lit. "inclination"), is the rubric for prayers said in a low voice by the celebrant as he bows down (= μυστικῶς).

³ Syr. : tlithâ (lit. "erect"), means a prayer said aloud by the celebrant, standing erect (= ἐκφώνησις).

the Intercession in a long prayer, called *Ḳathulīḳi*, for all sorts and conditions of men. This is closed by the Lord's Prayer said by all (in Arabic),¹ the celebrant saying a rather longer introduction than usual and a short embolism (in Syriac). The Inclination follows (*Deacon*: "Let us bow our heads to the Lord." *R.*: "Before thee, O Lord our God"),² and the Elevation (*Celebrant*: "The holies to the holy.")³ *R.*: "The one Father is holy, the one Son is holy, the one Spirit is holy." Meanwhile he elevates first the paten then the chalice). Here the celebrant marks the holy bread with the consecrated wine and then dips it into the chalice. The particle received in Communion is called the "coal" (*gmurthâ*), in allusion to Isa. vi. 6, or the "pearl" (*marganīthâ*, cf. Matt. vii. 6). The celebrant himself receives such a fragment (intincted), then drinks of the chalice. Lay people receive a fragment intincted only (with a spoon). There seems some uncertainty (or variety of practice) as to the way the deacon or assisting clergy make their Communion.⁴ I believe they now usually receive an intincted particle only, and do not drink directly of the chalice. The Communion formula is: "The propitiatory coal of the body and blood of Christ our God is given to N.N. for the pardon of his offences and the remission of his sins. His prayers be with us. Amen." After Communion follow a thanksgiving prayer, a blessing, and the dismissal.⁵ After the liturgy the celebrant consumes what is left of the Blessed Sacrament (they do not reserve), and there is a distribution of blessed bread (*burkthâ*). This liturgy is one of the most beautiful in Christendom. Strange that an insignificant little sect should possess so splendid a liturgical tradition. But the modern Jacobites are not worthy of their inheritance. Their once brilliant school of liturgical scholars came to an end long ago. Now

¹ I believe the Jacobites always say the Our Father in Arabic (I have always heard it so). The Uniate Syrians certainly do. It is in Arabic in: *Ḳtābâ dteshmeshtâ dkurâbâ* (Mosul, 1881, p. 32).

² In noticing the many resemblances and identical forms in this rite and that of Byzantium, we must always remember that this is the parent from which the Byzantine rite is derived.

³ *Ḳudshe lḳaddishe*.

⁴ Renaudot: *op. cit.* ii. 120-123.

⁵ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, 69-100. Cf. Renaudot: *Lit. Orient. Coll.* ii. 1-44 (there are differences between the forms).

their priests hurry through a service, in a language they hardly understand,¹ with gross carelessness.

The Jacobite Divine Office is also very ancient in form and very interesting. Since Dr. Anthony Baumstark's publications about it,² it may easily be studied. They have the usual hours : Vespers (ramshâ) ; Nocturn (lelyâ) ; Morning office (şafrâ, ὄρθρος, more or less our Lauds) ; and day hours for the third, sixth, and ninth hours (not for the first). Their Compline (suttârâ, "protection") is a later addition. The essence of this office is naturally the psalter, sung in the old Antiochene order. It contains also lessons (Biblical and legends of saints), hymns (sedre, p. 348 and 'enyânê),³ prayers, and so on.⁴ The Jacobite Calendar also represents the old order of Antioch. They follow the Julian reckoning. The year begins on the first of October. From December 1 they have a fast (Advent) in preparation for Christmas. Five Sundays before Christmas they begin to prepare for it in their prayers. Christmas (Bêth yaldâ, December 25) and Epiphany (Bêth denhâ, January 6) follows, as with us. The "praise of the Mother of God" is December 26, Holy Innocents December 27, St. Stephen January 8. Candlemas comes on February 2. The last two Sundays before Lent are for the dead, the first for the clergy, the second for the laity. The last week before Lent is the "fast of Ninive" (p. 287). The seventh Sunday before Easter is "of the approach of the fast" ; the great fast (Lent) begins forty days before Palm Sunday. Holy Week, Easter, Ascension day and Whitsunday follow as usual. Before the death (Shunnâyâ) of the Mother of God (August 15), and the Princes of the Apostles (June 29) they fast, like the Copts (p. 287). Scattered throughout

¹ For the training of the Jacobite clergy often means merely the power to read and pronounce Syriac words, without any real study of the language. The Uniates are, naturally, much better equipped. Their Patriarch is a great scholar.

² *Das Syrisch-Antiochenische Ferialbrevier in the Katholik* (Mainz) 1902, ii. 401-427, 538-550 ; 1903, i. 43-54 ; and : *Festbrevier u. Kirchenjahr der Syrischen Jakobiten* (Paderborn, 1910).

³ The 'enyânâ ("response," from 'nâ, "to hear,") corresponds to the Byzantine κανών ; Baumstark : *Festbrevier*, 69-77.

⁴ Further details in Baumstark : *op. cit.*

the year are saints' days, naturally many of their own.¹ We noticed that the Jacobite rite is almost the only thing of importance about them. That and the memory of their former scholars still give a certain dignity to this little sect.

Summary

James Baradai, ordained by stealth in Constantinople in the 6th century, built up a Monophysite Church in Syria, called (after him) Jacobite. Under the empire the Jacobites were persecuted; since Islam rules in their country (since the 7th century) they share the usual conditions of a tolerated subject Christian "nation." In the Middle Ages they had scholars of distinction, notably the famous Mafrian Barhebræus; they had an excellent school of liturgical science, and, on the whole, they got on fairly well with other Christian bodies. They have one Patriarch (of Antioch); under him the Mafrian ruled their communities in Persia and East Syria, where they became formidable rivals of the Nestorians. They were never a very large body; since the 14th century they have dwindled, and are now quite a small, poor, backward, scattered sect. They dwell chiefly in Mesopotamia, round about Diyārbakr. The Mafrian is now a kind of auxiliary bishop and vicar-general to the Patriarch. In faith the Jacobites agree with the Copts, though in earlier times their Monophysism was less pronounced. They have always been less opposed to the Orthodox. Their rite is quite different. It is a Syriac form of the ancient Antiochene rite, with the liturgy attributed to St. James the Less, first Bishop of Jerusalem. To this they have added a vast and heterogeneous collection of other anaphoras, not, however, much used now. Their office and calendar also represent the old rite of Antioch. These are the chief points of interest in their Church.

¹ For the Calendar see Baumstark: *Festbrevier*, pp. 159-288, and Nilles: *Kalend. Man.* 459-483. Parry gives accounts of a modern Jacobite wedding (*Six Months*, 246-248), and funeral (*ib.* 343-345).

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH OF MALABAR

THIS outlying body of Christians does not demand a lengthy treatment here, for two reasons. In the first place, it is not really a special Church at all. The Christians of Malabar were originally simply one of the many missions throughout Asia founded by the East Syrians or Persians, dependent on the Katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. They followed their mother-Church into Nestorianism, used the same rite as she did, and were merely a distant portion of the Nestorian Church. Later came relations with the Jacobites. But again the Malabar Christians who submitted to the Jacobite Patriarch became simply Jacobites in India. In no case has Malabar itself anything to justify our reckoning it as a special Church, except its geographical position. Secondly, in its history the only important event is its reunion with Rome under the Portuguese in the 16th century. The majority of these people are still Uniates. The story of that union and account of the Uniates belong to our next volume. Here it will be enough to give an outline of the origin of Christianity in Malabar and some account of the schismatical Christians there.

1. The Foundation of the Church

When the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama sailed into East Indian waters in 1498, the sailors found flourishing Christian communities established along the south-western coast of India,

from Calicut down to Cape Comorin. These people had a hierarchy under a Metropolitan, churches and shrines. Their services were in Syriac. They said that they descended from Christians converted by the Apostle Thomas ; they called themselves with pride the " Christians of St. Thomas."

This is the local tradition, still firmly held by all the Malabar Christians, whether Catholic or schismatical. They hold, as a point of honour, that they are an apostolic Church ; they show still the tomb of St. Thomas, and are exceedingly offended by the other account of their origin, namely, that their Christianity comes from Nestorian missionaries. This brings us to a much-discussed legend, that of the alleged Indian mission of St. Thomas. There is a considerable literature, Syriac in source, which tells (with variants) a detailed story of the journeys of St. Thomas the Apostle throughout Asia. Some versions make him go as far as Peking and found a Church in China. In all, he appears as an Eastern parallel to St. Paul in Europe.¹ As his companion, in many versions, St. Bartholomew appears. The constant root of the story is that St. Thomas came to Parthia, converted a Parthian king named Gondophares, or Gundaphor, who reigned over part of India, that he established a flourishing Church in this king's domain. There are many additions ; the story is full of fantastic details. As far as we are now concerned, the points to mention are that the Apostle is said to have preached the gospel in the island of Socotra, to have then passed over to Cranganore on the western coast of India, where there were many Jews, to have converted Jews and heathen, built churches, and left a hierarchy ordained by himself. Then he went across India to Mailapur (now a suburb of Madras), preached there, was attacked by the Brahmins, martyred by being stoned and pierced by a javelin on a hill still called St. Thomas's Mount, and was

¹ Among the many sources of this legend of St. Thomas the chief is a Gnostic document (originally in Syriac) known as the *Acta Thomæ*. It was apparently composed in the middle of the 3rd century. Eusebius quotes it (*Hist. Eccl.* iii., 25), also Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlvii. 1 ; P.G. xli. 852), and many others, down to Gregory of Tours (*Miracul. liber.* i. 32 ; P.L. lxxi. 733). See Bonnet : *Acta Thomæ* (Leipzig, 1883), Germann : *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (Gütersloh, 1877), pp. 11-47, and Harnack : *Gesch. der alichristl. Literatur*, II. i. (Leipzig, 1897), 545-549, for an account of the legend.

buried there. Later, his relics were taken to Edessa.¹ One's first inclination is perhaps to reject the whole story without more ado. We know the anxiety of local Churches all over the world to claim a direct apostolic foundation ; we know, too, how little credit can be given to apocryphal acts of apostles, such as abound in Gnostic literature. On the other hand, a rather better case than one might think can be made for an Indian mission of St. Thomas. Not only from these *Acta Thomæ*, but from a great number of apparently independent sources, we have a constant tradition that he preached in India.² It is true that "India" is a very vague term in early Christian literature. It may mean Arabia or even Ethiopia. Yet, at least in many of these, it is clear that what we know as India is meant.³ The authenticity of this tradition has been again defended by Father Joseph Dahlmann, S.J., who points out that the name of the Parthian king Gundaphor is now established, that since Alexander the Great the road to India was easy from Syria, that there was continual intercourse between Parthia, India and the West in the 1st century, and that there are many reasons which show that at least the kernel of the tradition is not improbable.⁴ But even if we admit in general a mission of St. Thomas to Parthia and to a state in Northern India, this still leaves his alleged foundation of a Church in Malabar very doubtful. It is a far cry from a Parthian kingdom in North India to the south-western coast. To deduce that St. Thomas was in Malabar, because he was at the court of Gundaphor, is like saying that St. Paul came to Britain because he was in Spain. On the other hand, the tradition of Thomas in India would naturally be appropriated

¹ There is a constant tradition that the Apostle's relics were brought to Edessa, so that at Mailapur is only an empty grave, before which, however, miracles were worked (Rufinus : *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5 ; P.L. xxi. 513 ; Socrates : *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18 ; P.G. lxxvii. 504 ; Sozomenos : *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 18 ; P.G. lxxvii. 1336) ; Gregory of Tours, *loc. cit.*

² Germann (*loc. cit.*), etc.

³ So St. Jerome, who says that Pantænus preached in India where St. Bartholomew had been (*De vir. illustr.* 36), in another place says that in India he preached to "the Brahmins and philosophers of that people" (Ep. lxx. ad Magn. Orat. ; P.L. xxii. 667).

⁴ *Die Thomas-Legende* (Herder, 1912). See Fr. H. Thurston, S.J., in the *Month* for August, 1912 ("Christianity in the Far East," pp. 153-163).

by any Christian communities in that vast land. We must leave the apostolic origin of Malabar Christianity as a very doubtful legend.

But the "Christians of St. Thomas" are right when they protest against being described as a Nestorian mission. It is, I think, certain that their Church was founded by East Syrian missionaries; but there is every reason to suppose that this was before the East Syrian Christians had turned Nestorian. Indian Christianity was always dependent on the people who became the Nestorian Church, so India followed its mother Church into heresy. But there was Christianity in India (and along the Malabar coast) before Nestorius. We have a number of allusions to this. Even allowing for the inevitable ambiguity of the name "India," we can trace at least some of them with certainty to Hindustan. The first of these is the story of Pantænus († c. 200), the celebrated founder of the Alexandrine school of theology. Eusebius¹ and St. Jerome² tell us that he travelled to India, there found Christians who had St. Matthew's gospel in Hebrew, and that St. Bartholomew³ had preached there. There is already some doubt as to where this "India" may be. Many people think it is Southern Arabia; but Jerome, at any rate, means Hindustan.⁴ We may note at once that two races of Jews, white and black, have for a very long time been established along this coast.⁵ If they were there first, we may suppose that the faith was preached in the first instance to them, and this would account for the "Hebrew" St. Matthew, meaning a Syriac version.⁶ The "John of all Persia and great India," in the list of Fathers of Nicæa (325), is possibly a mistake (see p. 43 above). But soon after the council there was a Theophilus of Diu, of whom Philostorgius tells.⁷ He was an Indian from the island Dibus (Διβοῦς) who had come to Constantinople under

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10.

² *De vir. illustr.* 36.

³ St. Bartholomew also constantly appears as the other apostle of India.

⁴ See above, p. 355, n. 3.

⁵ *Asiatic Journal*, N.S. vol. vi. (Sept.-Dec. 1831), pp. 6-14.

⁶ "Hebrew" is always Syriac (Aramaic) in such cases, as in Acts xxi. 40, etc.

⁷ In the fragments of his history preserved by Photius, iii. 4-6 (P.G. lxx. 481-489).

Constantine, and had adopted Roman manners. He was, or became, an Arian. The Emperor Constantius (337-340) sent him to Arabia to reform the Church of the Christian Sabæans, or "Homeritæ." He accomplished this mission with success. The point which interests us here is his origin. Where is Dibus? It seems now generally agreed that it is Diu, the island off Guzerat.¹ Eventually he went back home to India and made some attempt to propagate Arianism there.² The next incident of which we hear comes from a Malabar tradition. The story is that, in the middle of the 4th century, a Metropolitan of Edessa had a vision (not further described, but presumably about the needy state of a distant Church). He tells his vision to the "Katholikos of the East," who summons a synod to discuss the matter. At the synod a merchant, Thomas of Jerusalem, rises up and says that he knows what this Church is: he has heard of Christians "of Malabar and India." So the Katholikos sends him to Malabar to investigate. He comes back with a full report. Then the Katholikos sends him out again with the Bishop of Edessa, who had seen the vision, with many priests, deacons, men, women, boys and girls, who come to Malabar in the year 345.³ It seems that this Thomas the merchant of Jerusalem is the Thomas Cannaneo of whom many European authors write.⁴ "Cannaneo" would be the Portuguese form of the name they heard, which means really "Canaanite," that is, "Palestinian." Others make him an Armenian,⁵ apparently again a corruption for Aramæan.⁶ "Thomas Cannaneo" plays a great part in many accounts of the origin of the Malabar Church. He appears as a bishop and a reformer. Some think that he is the founder of the Church, the real Thomas, later confused with the apostle.⁷ He is said

¹ Germann (*op. cit.* p. 75) quotes Tillemont, Fleury and many others for this.

² Meanwhile he had been to Ethiopia. For all this, see Philostorgius, *loc. cit.*

³ The text of the whole story is in Land: *Anecdota syriaca* (Leiden, 1862), i. pp. 123-127.

⁴ E.g. Howard: *The Christians of St. Thomas*, pp. 15-16; see Germann: *op. cit.* 92-93.

⁵ Swanston: "A memoir of the primitive Church of Malayâla" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1834, pp. 171-172).

⁶ Germann: *loc. cit.* 93.

⁷ See Howard, *loc. cit.*

to have introduced the East Syrian rite, to have arrived with a great colony of Syrians and to have introduced Syrian customs at Malabar. I gather that the legend told above (in which he is not a bishop, but arrives with a Bishop of Edessa) is the older one. We need not give much importance to the details. There does not appear to be any independent tradition of a Bishop of Edessa who left his see to go to India ; all about Thomas the merchant of Jerusalem, or Thomas Cannaneo, comes only from Malabar. Yet the story may well contain an important kernel of truth.¹ In the 4th century the Persian Christians were being cruelly persecuted (pp. 45-47). At that time may not a number of them, with bishops and clergy, have fled to the more tolerant Hindu princes on the western coast of India ? There is considerable evidence of some such migration as this ;² it forms an interesting parallel to the Parsi migration to India after the Moslem conquest of their land, and it accounts for the Syrian (and later the Nestorian) character of Malabar Christianity.

The sum, then, of what we know about the introduction of Christianity in South-Western India would seem to be this. At some unknown period, but early, probably in the 2nd century, there were Christians in India. They had come either overland from East Syria or by sea from Arabia. In the 4th century a body of Christians from Persia arrived on the Malabar coast. These were subjects of the Persian Metropolitan ; they brought their language and rites, and had bishops ordained in the East Syrian mother-Church. So Malabar is a very early, perhaps the earliest case of those wonderful missions throughout Asia which are the chief glory of the East Syrian Church. Jews and Hindus were converted ; so a missionary Church, dependent on the *Katholikos* of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, was formed.

2. Before the Portuguese Conquest

From the 4th century we have a number of more or less incidental allusions which show us a Church in Malabar, East Syrian

¹ Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* III. part ii. 443-444) puts the story much later, in the 9th century, and tells it with several variants. Germann criticizes his version, I think, successfully : *op. cit.* 90-96.

² Germann : *loc. cit.* 82-83.

in character, using the normal East Syrian rite and dependent on the Katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. It would seem that its nucleus consisted of Syrian refugees from Persia. The bishops, in the earlier period, appear to be all Syrians ordained and sent out by the Katholikos. There is, then, a certain similarity between Malabar and Abyssinia (dependent on the Patriarch of Alexandria). But at Malabar there was no attempt to adapt the liturgy to the language of the country. To the native converts in India Syriac was as foreign a language as Latin to converts in England. But they kept the liturgical language of the mother Church. Another parallel to Abyssinia is that there was only one bishop in Malabar. The Metropolitan of India, like Abūna in Abyssinia, had no suffragans. It may be that for a time the Manichees obtained a footing in this land. Some writers, notably Theodoret of Cyrus,¹ say that Mani sent a disciple to India. We shall not be surprised that this disciple is said to have borne the invariable name of all supposed early Indian missionaries. He, too, was called Thomas. Some see in this an explanation of the whole legend of the Apostle Thomas ; it would be a Manichæan forgery ;² there is a long story (complicated with Buddha³) to account for early Christianity in India. Certainly, the Manichæan idea suggests among other influences that of Hinduism ; and there is evidence of Manichæism in Ceylon at an early date.⁴ On the other hand, what we know of Malabar Christianity shows us no trace of Manichæism. All allusions show us a normal Christian Church of East Syrian type, and then Nestorianism. We have no indication when Malabar turned Nestorian. But that must have happened inevitably as soon as East Syria adopted the heresy. The missionary daughter Church simply followed her mother. Since the bishop was a Syrian sent out from the home of Nestorianism, he would bring the theology of his sect with him ; the converts

¹ *Hæret. Fab. Comp.* i. 26 (P.G. lxxxiii. 381).

² So Tillemont, quoted by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* III. ii. 28) ; Germann (*op. cit.* p. 100) and most writers now reject this idea.

³ His name, Gautama, is supposed in some way to contain the name Thomas.

⁴ So G. Flügel : *Mani, seine Lehre u. seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 85, 174.

would know nothing else. Now, we are reduced to one or two chance allusions to Malabar. Kosmas Indikopleustes, in the 6th century, found "Persian Christians" in India ruled by a Persian bishop (p. 104). About the same time another traveller, a Jacobite Syrian monk, Bud Periodeutes,¹ also found Christians in India established for a long time.² Their dependence on the Nestorians is undoubted. We have seen the letter in which Yeshu'yab, the Nestorian Katholikos, complains that Simon of Yākut neglects the missions under his care (7th century, p. 104). Among these is that of India.³ The Katholikos Timothy I (728-823, see pp. 94-96) refers on several occasions to the flourishing Church of India, subject to himself.⁴ Barhebraeus tells us that in the time of this Timothy the Metropolitan of Persia would not obey him as Katholikos, and said: "We are the disciples of Thomas the Apostle, and have nothing to do with the See of Mari." So Timothy, to humble his pride and weaken his power, took away India from his jurisdiction, and made it a Metropolitan see independent of anyone but himself.⁵ Assemani thinks that the Thomas whom Timothy ordained with others and sent out as missionaries was for India.⁶ But already the Malabar people had begun that strange practice, in later years characteristic of them, of sending to the hereditary enemies of their Church, the Monophysites, for bishops. We shall see this astonishing proceeding on a much larger scale later (p. 365). Meanwhile already, in the 6th century, they made approaches to the Monophysites, which, however, at first produced no result.⁷ In the 7th century the same thing happened again. An Indian priest came to the Coptic Patriarch Isaac (686-689) asking him to

¹ Bud is Bā'uth; Periodeutes is an office of the Nestorians and Jacobites; a "visitor" (sā'aurā, p. 134).

² Assemani: *Bibl. Orient.* III, part i. 219.

³ *Ib.* p. 438.

⁴ Labourt: *De Timotheo*, i. pp. 41-42.

⁵ *Chronic. Eccl.* ii. 172.

⁶ *Bibl. Orient.* III, part ii. 444-445. The inevitable name Thomas could, in this case, easily be explained. Nestorian bishops took new names at their ordination (pp. 130, 132). A bishop for India would naturally choose Thomas. This Thomas is mentioned among those ordained at that time in Thomas of Margā: *Book of Governors* (see p. 112), iv. 20 (ed. Wallis Budge, vol. ii. p. 447).

⁷ Germann: *op. cit.* 148-149.

ordain a bishop for India. Simon did not dare do so for fear of the Moslem governor. But Theodore, Patriarch of the Gainite party (p. 220), ordained a man from Maryuṭ bishop, and two priests, and sent them on their way to India. But the Khalif's soldiers caught them and sent them back to Egypt. Here the governor cut off their hands and feet and made a great trouble with both Simon and Theodore.¹ We notice already that these negotiations with Monophysites show that the Nestorian theology was not considered a very vital issue in Malabar, if indeed the native Church understood the particular doctrine of its Katholikos at all.

The next incident is interesting to us. Our King Alfred, of all people, had relations with Malabar. When the Danes were besieging London, Alfred (871-901) made a vow, if they were driven back, to send gifts to Rome, and also to India in honour of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. In 883 he sent Sighelm or Suithelm, Bishop of Shireburn, with the gifts. Sighelm came to Rome and then went on to the Malabar coast. He made his offerings here, and brought back from his long journey jewels and spices.² Strange to see an English bishop in India in 883. Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324) describes the "pepper-coast of Malabar,"³ tells stories about its trade and customs, but says nothing about Christians there.⁴ However, he knows that there are Christians in India; he describes St. Thomas' tomb at Mailapur and tells the story of his mission and death.⁵

Two relics of the time before the Portuguese conquest throw further light on the early history of this Church. The first is the Mailapur Cross. In 1547, as the Portuguese were digging the foundations for a church at Mailapur, they found a stone carved with a cross. Various miracles are told of this cross. It bled, and

¹ Simon I was Isaac's successor. *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* ed. Evetts, pp. [290-296].

² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. by B. Thorpe), vol. ii. 1861, p. 66. William of Malmesbury: *de Gestis regum Anglorum*, ii. § 122 (ed. W. Stubbs), London, 1887, vol. i. 130.

³ Everyone notices pepper as the chief export of the Malabar coast; so Kosmas Indikopleustes: "the so-called Male where pepper grows," *loc. cit.* (see p. 104, n. 2).

⁴ Chap. xxviii. ed. Wright (*cit.*), pp. 362-363.

⁵ Chap. xx.; *ib.* 348-349.

at other times gave out water. It was supposed to mark the place where St. Thomas was buried. It still exists in the Church of our Lady on the Hill of St. Thomas at Mailapur, and has been photographed.¹ On the stone is carved a cross which has a remarkable likeness to that of the Nestorian monument at Si-ngan-fu (p. 107); above it is a dove. Around are letters which for a long time no one could read. It is now established that they are Pehlevi (the language of Persia under the Sassanids); but there still seems to be some uncertainty as to their meaning. Mr. Burnell interpreted them: "In punishment by the cross was the suffering of this one, he who is the true Christ and God above and guide ever pure."² Dr. Haug of Munich thinks that he has translated wrongly, and reads: "Who believes in Christ and in God on high and in the Holy Ghost, he is in the grace of him who bore the suffering of the cross."³ He dates the cross and inscription as 5th century. The existence of this monument (in Persian) is a valuable witness of Persian missions in India, and confirms our view of Indian Christianity as a mission from the Persian Church.

The other document is the famous charter of privileges. In 1549 a dying Malabar bishop gave the Portuguese Governor, as a most precious relic, certain copper plates, which he said contained the authentic grant of privileges made to Christians by the King of Cranganore, and were given by him to Thomas "Cannaneo" (p. 357). After a time these were lost, but they were found again by Colonel Macaulay, British Resident in Travancore, and were deposited by him in the Anglican College at Kottayam in 1806. They have been photographed and published.⁴ There are six copper plates, written in an ancient Indian language (Karnataka), with signatures in Arabic and Syriac. They confer on Christians the highest caste, and exempt them from the jurisdiction of Hindu magistrates, except for criminal cases. In all civil and ecclesiastical matters they are to be ruled by their own Metropolitan. Among the signatures are names of Moslems; so the tradition which dates these plates at the time of

¹ By A. C. Burnell in: *On some Pahlavi inscriptions in South India* (Mangalore, 1873). This is the cross on the cover of this book.

² In Germann: *op. cit.* p. 297.

³ *Ib.* 299.

⁴ In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vii. (1843), pp. 343-344.

Thomas of Jerusalem (4th century) is plainly wrong. Germann thinks they are of the 8th century.¹ The Jews of Malabar have similar charters ; both are interesting proofs of the characteristic tolerance of Hindu kings.

There is little more to say of the first period before the Portuguese came. Under the mild rule of the native Hindu kings the Nestorian missionary Church flourished and was at peace. It was ruled by the one bishop, "Metropolitan of India." He had established his see at Angamale (inland from Cranganore). The arrangement had begun that each Metropolitan was assisted by an archdeacon of the family of Palakomatta ;² but he himself was still a foreigner, ordained and sent out by the Nestorian Katholikos. When the Metropolitan died the archdeacon sent a petition for a successor to the Katholikos ; meanwhile he administered the see himself. For a short time the Christians had even succeeded in obtaining complete political independence. They had set up a line of Christian kings of their own, which line came to an end not long before the Portuguese arrived. They were then under the Rajah of Cochin.

3. Since the Portuguese Conquest

Vasco da Gama came to India first in 1498. He completed the conquest of the coast by 1502. The Portuguese report is that they found about two hundred thousand Christians, having fifteen hundred churches. The Metropolitan at the time was Mâr Joseph, at Angamale. With the Portuguese conquest begins the story of the reunion of the Malabar Church with Rome. That will be told at length in our next volume. Here it is enough to mention that at the Synod of Diamper in 1599 the Malabar Church was made to renounce Nestorianism and all connection with the Katholikos in Mesopotamia, to accept the Catholic faith and the Pope's authority. There begins a line of Uniate Metropolitans, dependent to some extent on the Portuguese Latin hierarchy. As long as the Portuguese were masters, that state of things continued.

¹ *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, 248-250.

² They had a legend that St. Thomas had chosen an archdeacon of this family.

Officially and theoretically, all Malabar Christians were Uniates. The Inquisition was set up ; prison, and in some cases death, were the penalties of relapse into schism. But the Inquisition rarely succeeded in securing hearty affection from its victims. There follows a complicated story of relapsed and deposed bishops ; undoubtedly many of the clergy and people only accepted the union externally, while waiting for a chance of restoring a Nestorian, or at least non-Papal Church. The Uniate Metropolitan (now called Archbishop) moved his see to Cranganore on the coast. In 1653 a number of the clergy and leading men met in the Church of Alanghat and swore to renounce the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, to set up a non-Uniate Metropolitan as before. It was, of course, a secret conspiracy, for fear of the Portuguese. They chose Thomas Palakomatta, of the appointed family, to be archdeacon, and set about to obtain a bishop. They tried to get one from the Nestorians. But the Government was on the watch in that direction, and would let no one through towards Mesopotamia. One sees that the one point which mattered to the schismatical party was to be independent of Rome, represented to them by the hated conqueror. Evidently they cared little about the Council of Ephesus. So, as they could not get to Mesopotamia, they sent by sea to the Copts in Egypt. The Coptic Patriarch ordained and sent them a (Monophysite) Syrian¹ named Aithallâhâ, otherwise Ignatius. But he was caught and put to death.² This first attempt shows both the persistent determination of a party in Malabar not to be Uniates and their indifference as to whether they were to be in union with Nestorians or Monophysites. Both are characteristic. Thomas Palakomatta continued to rule his hiding faction as archdeacon while waiting for a bishop. There is a curious story that twelve of his priests went through an alleged form of ordination by laying a letter from the im-

¹ I take it he must have been a Monophysite. The Malabar people waver in the strangest way ; but I cannot conceive a Coptic Patriarch ordaining a Nestorian.

² Germann : *op. cit.* 447-449. He tells the story differently (pp. 452-453), and says that Aithallâhâ was sent by the Uniate Chaldee Patriarch at Mosul ; which makes his capture and death unaccountable. I follow the usual version as given by Howard : *The Christians of St. Thomas*, 45-46.

prisoned Aithallâhâ on his head.¹ Many of his adherents returned to the obedience of the Uniate Archbishop, and he had only a small remnant when the Hollandish conquest changed the whole situation. The Hollanders took Quillon from the Portuguese in 1661; in 1662 they captured Cranganore; in 1663 Cochin and the whole coast. The new Protestant masters reversed the situation. They had no interest in maintaining the Pope's authority; on the contrary, they encouraged schism and, if anything, rather persecuted the Catholics. So the Archdeacon Thomas and his friends now easily got what they wanted. But, strangely, they did not apply to their old patrons the Nestorians. They seemed to have got used to looking to the other faction for help; in any case, they must have been completely indifferent about their original heresy. It was Gregory, Jacobite Metropolitan of Jerusalem, who came to India in 1665 and ordained Thomas Metropolitan. Here, then, occurs one of the most astonishing transformations in Church history. The Uniate majority were not, of course, affected. But the schismatical Christians of Malabar, who had been Nestorian, now became Jacobite. Thomas accepted the Jacobite rite and was in communion with the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. That is still the state of a great part of the schismatical body.

Its further history is a bewildering confusion of rival claimants, schisms among themselves and complicated quarrels. The Nestorians made various unsuccessful attempts to recapture their ancient daughter Church. Early in the 18th century they sent a bishop, Mâr Gabriel, who formed for a time a schism from the Jacobite Metropolitan; but his party seems to have died out with him.² In 1750 the Mafrian Basil came to Malabar in order to ordain a certain Thomas. But he changed his mind, and ordained one Cyril instead. Thomas then made a schism, which

¹ There is a similar story that in 1810, when a bishop died without ordaining a successor, the clergy took a priest, brought him to the dead body, said the prayers for ordaining a bishop, and laid the dead hand on his head (Germann, p. 621). I have heard of several such cases of ordination by a dead hand (compare the Armenian practice, p. 416); but I do not think that, even in times of extreme necessity, they were ever acknowledged. This man, so ordained, was never recognized as a real bishop.

² Germann: p. 549; Silbernagl: *Verfassung*, u.s.w. 318.

was carried on after his death, and was only appeased by the Rajah of Travancore.¹ This is one example of what has happened almost incessantly. Malabar Church history, except for the Uniates, is one long story of rival Metropolitans, the interference of various foreign prelates, schismatical ordinations,² endless quarrels and appeals to the pagan secular power. At the end of the 18th century the power of Holland begins to give way before that of England. The second Mysore war (1790-1792) gave us undisputed supremacy in Southern India; the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore (who divide the Malabar coast) became dependent on England in 1795. So begin relations between Anglicans and the schismatical Malabar Christians. In 1806 Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited their Metropolitan Dionysius and proposed a union between the two Churches. But the Indians seem to have known something about the Church of England, for they said that they could not acknowledge Anglican orders.³ It really is hard on Anglicans that no one, not even this poor little sect in India, will accept their orders. However, in spite of this, relations were not at first unfriendly. Anglicans were, of course, delighted to find an ancient Church which is not in union with Rome; the Malabar clergy had every reason to be on good terms with these rich and powerful foreigners who were now masters of the country. As usual, the Anglicans professed the greatest possible respect for the ancient Syrian Church in India, and loudly declared their intention not to proselytize. They only wanted to educate and help. So they printed and distributed Syriac Bibles; they built a college for the Christian natives at Kottayam near Cochin. But soon dissension began. It was the Church Missionary Society which undertook this work, and its missionaries were, even for that Society, very Low Church indeed. They taught justification by faith alone and an unsacramental theology; they never ceased pouring scorn on the Malabar holy liturgy, which they would call a Mass—apparently as a term of abuse.⁴ One of their ministers, when invited to

¹ Howard : *op. cit.* 55.

² Schismatical among themselves.

³ Howard : *op. cit.* 57.

⁴ Howard : *op. cit.* p. 94. "Mass" is, of course, a totally wrong name for any liturgy but those of the Latin rites.

preach in a native Church, after his sermon, with his own hands tore down a picture of St. George and "committed an act of violence to an individual there" in so doing;¹ they taught their pupils out of a Presbyterian catechism.² So there came a formal breach. The Metropolitan excommunicated those who follow the Anglican missionaries; they have set up rival, frankly Protestant, conventicles, with a service of their own.³ Meanwhile, about the year 1825, there was another schism among the natives themselves.⁴ Of late years, High Church clergymen have travelled in Malabar and have shown these people that there are different kinds of Anglicanism.

4. The Land and People

We come to the present state of the schismatical Church. The situation is different from that of all the other Churches described in this volume, for in this case the schismatics are a minority, and are clearly a later breach away from the old body. From what has been said in the last paragraph it is clear that, as a matter of historic continuity, the Uniates are the original Church which accepted⁵ union with Rome at the synod of Diamper. The Uniate Vicars Apostolic *ritus syro-malabarici* now represent the old line of Metropolitans of India. The Jacobite Metropolitan rules a new schism, tracing his line only to Thomas Palakomatta, ordained in 1665; and the breach of continuity with the past is the more manifest in that they then joined another religious body—the Jacobites. If the Jacobite bishops in India wish to trace their line to the Apostles, they must go back to 1665, then leave India, join on to the Jacobite Church of Syria, and go back to James Baradai, Severus of Antioch, and so, in a way, to the old Patriarchate of Antioch.

Along the south-western coast of India, between latitudes 9 and 13, lies an undulating country between the sea and the high Anamullay mountains. It stretches for about two hundred miles from Mangalore on the north to Cape Comorin, and is from

¹ Howard, *op. cit.* 97. See p. 106 for another disgraceful scene.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* 107–108. See below, pp. 369–371.

⁴ *Ib.* 67–71.

⁵ Whether willingly or by force does not affect the point.

thirty to fifty miles wide. This is the famous pepper-coast of Malabar. Inside of the coast-line is a long expanse of water, a back-water or series of lagoons connected by channels and separated from the open sea by a narrow strip of land with occasional openings. You may travel almost the whole length of the Malabar coast by water along these lagoons. The land is fertile, but very unhealthy; cholera and smallpox carry off great numbers of people every year and leprosy abounds. The land is divided politically between the Rajahs of Cochin to the north and Travancore to the south, under British supremacy. A British Resident in their States controls their Government.¹ The majority of inhabitants are Hindus. There is a small but very ancient and interesting community of native Jews (p. 354), and about nine hundred thousand Christians. Of these, nearly four hundred thousand are Jacobites. There is no difference of race or language between the Christians and the others. All talk Malayalam.² Their Syriac services are like those in Latin to us. But Christians seem to have special quarters in the towns.

5. The Schisms at Malabar

The Jacobites of Malabar should have, in theory, one bishop only, the "Bishop and Gate of all India."³ But there are many rivals and schisms among them. The people are very quarrelsome, always going to law against each other. A discontented party sends to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, or to someone else, complaining of their bishop. In return he is generally deposed, and a rival appointed. But he will not retire; there are mutual excommunications, and a schism is formed.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. T. Mackenzie, Resident from 1899 to 1904, for much valuable information about the Malabar Christians. Mr. Mackenzie, who is a Catholic, compiled the chapter on Christianity in the *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1906), ii. 135-223, and wrote an able article in the *Dublin Review*, vol. 139 (July-Oct. 1906): "The Syrian Christians in India" (pp. 105-122).

² Malayalam, nearly akin to Tamil, is one of the "Dravidic" (not Aryan) dialects spoken in Southern India.

³ As a matter of fact, there are quite a number of bishops in Malabar, mostly in schism with one another; the Jacobite now has suffragans (p. 374).

To understand the present extremely complicated state of non-Uniate Christianity along this coast we must go back to the Anglican missions.

In 1816, missionaries of the Church Missionary Society began operations among the Malabar Jacobites. We have noted that they were exceedingly Low Church.¹ As usual among Protestant missionaries, they began with the idea, not of converting natives away from their Church, but of reforming and purifying it by spreading the pure gospel. They seem to have cared very little about Monophysism, if indeed they even knew enough to understand what it is.² But they were strong against what they thought Popish abuses, such as images, praying to saints or for the dead, the liturgy as a sacrifice, and so on. They did not know that both Nestorians and Jacobites inherit these things from the early Church just as much as Rome does. The panacea for all these abuses was, of course, to be vernacular (Malayalam) versions of the Bible. They preached the pure gospel with such effect that, out of the one Jacobite body, there are now seven quarrelling sects.

At first the Malabar Jacobites believed the assurances of their Anglican guests that they did not mean to proselytize, nor to disturb a venerable sister Church. To the C.M.S. clergymen, Monophysites were a branch of the Church, just as much as the Orthodox, Lutherans and Moravians. Only (like most branches out of England) they wanted a little reforming. But the reforming efforts were not very successful. Dr. Richards tells us : " Apparently the only effort that was quite successful was that for the reintroduction of marriage among the clergy,

¹ They are so still. Dr. W. J. Richards, for thirty-five years C.M.S. missionary at Malabar, author of a little book : *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (London : G. Allen, 1908), talks about a deacon being ordained " full priest " (p. 37). He also thinks that the Council of Nicæa made five patriarchates, Constantinople being the second (p. 13). He thinks Menezes of Goa, who held the synod of Diamper, was a Jesuit (p. 14) ; he seems to think all Romish priests to be more or less Jesuits. He constantly talks about a Jacobite " Patriarch of Jerusalem " (pp. 17, 18, etc.). He thinks that " Catholicos " means Patriarch (p. 10), and he does not understand what Nestorianism means (p. 13). From his book I gather that the zeal of the C.M.S. missionaries exceeds their theological equipment.

² See the instructions of the C.M.S. quoted in Richards : *op. cit.* 21, 22.

and this was brought about by the offer on the part of the British Resident of special dowries to the first women who would accept priests as husbands.”¹ This is interesting. One does not often find so unblushing a confession of bribery. So with their married native clergy and their Protestant ideas the Anglicans formed a Reforming party within the Jacobite Church. It soon became a sect. In 1835 the Jacobite Metran² held a synod at a town Mavelikara. He was now quite disillusioned about the C.M.S., and made all his clergy take an oath to have nothing to do with them. The Reformers then became a new body, and began a long process of lawsuits with the Jacobites about the property.

A Malpān (teacher) in the Kottayam College, Abraham, who was a priest (Katanar),³ took up the Protestant ideas warmly. Dr. Richards says of him with just pride that he was “the Wyclif of the Syrian Church in Malabar.”⁴ The Kottayam College, in the hands of the C.M.S., became a centre in which boys were trained in these ideas. “Colporteurs and catechists spread the printed Word all over the country.”⁵ Malpān Abraham had a nephew, Matthew, and a pupil, George Matthan. Both were excommunicated by the Jacobite Metran. George became an Anglican, and died in 1870. Matthew used cribs at Madras, and was expelled from the college there.⁶ Then he went to Syria and got ordained bishop by the Jacobite Patriarch (who must, I think, have been misinformed as to his intentions). In 1843 he came back, calling himself Metran of the Reformed Church. Naturally, he was again excommunicated by the Jacobite Metran. Then he embarked on the favourite Malabar practice of going to law with the Jacobites over the property, and turned out so full of what Dr. Richards calls “ungodliness,”⁷ that his uncle Abraham refused to receive Communion from him when dying. He now called himself Mār Athanasius Matthew, got recognized by the Government in 1857, was apparently converted to a more moral life by the Anglican bishop Dr. Milman in 1870 (though he was still “too astute”),⁸ and died in 1877.

¹ Richards : *op. cit.* 26.

² Syriac : *meṭrān*, *mīṭrān* ; Arabic : *muṭrān*, “metropolitan.”

³ Malayalam for “Lord.” The usual name for Malabar priests.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 30. ⁵ *Ib.* 32. ⁶ *Ib.* 37. ⁷ *Ib.* 38. ⁸ *Ib.* p. 39.

He had already begun to celebrate the holy liturgy in Malayalam. He was succeeded by his cousin, Mâr Thomas Athanasius, whom he had already ordained as his auxiliary. The head of the un-reformed Jacobites, his rival, was Mâr Dionysius V. Dionysius invited the Jacobite Patriarch to come to India himself and to crush the Reformed sect. In 1875 the Patriarch (Ignatius 'Abdu-lMasîh)¹ came. He did all he could to help Dionysius. He excommunicated Thomas Athanasius and his followers, and ordained six new bishops as suffragans of Dionysius. But he could not crush the Reformed sect. There were now two non-Uniate Churches: the Jacobites (known as the Patriarch's party) and the Reformed (the Metran's party). In 1889 and 1901 the quarrel between these two over the churches and church property again came before the Hindu courts.² The case went both times against the Reformers. Quite rightly, the judges decided that the Jacobites are the old Church (since 1665), and have a right to all the property they have acquired since then. The Reformers are a new sect, and must acquire property for themselves.

At the time of the Vatican Council it was proposed to submit the Malabar Uniates to the jurisdiction of the (Chaldæan) Patriarch of Babylon.³ It seems that Propaganda was considering the matter—maybe they had already discussed it with the Patriarch, when he, without further authority,⁴ sent a certain Elias Mellus (formerly Chaldæan Bishop of Akra in Kurdistan) to India, pretending to give him jurisdiction over all Malabar Uniates.⁵ From this a great quarrel arose, which will be described in our next volume. The end of it was that Mellus would not

¹ This is the Patriarch who was deposed in 1906 when Ignatius 'Abdullah Sattûf was made his successor. I am glad to say that the other day (May 3, 1913) Ignatius 'Abdu-lMasîh abjured his heresy and was reconciled to the Catholic Church by Ignatius Ephrem Rahmâni, the Uniate Syrian Patriarch of Antioch. Two other Jacobite bishops had already done so in January.

² The lawsuits fill four large volumes.

³ Hitherto the Malabar Uniates had an irregular position under Latin bishops. Some such arrangement as this would seem most natural.

⁴ The Patriarch said he had received authority from the Pope to do so. This was denied at Rome.

⁵ This was only one of several such more or less schismatical ordinations made by the late Chaldæan Patriarch Joseph VI (Audu, 1848-1878). He repented of these, and did not incur the excommunication with which he was threatened in 1876. I will tell the whole story in the volume on the Uniates.

retire, was excommunicated, and went into schism with a small party in 1876. He died, apparently without having ordained a successor. Meanwhile this party, in schism with both the Uniates and the Jacobites, for want of anyone else, turned to the Nestorians and joined in communion with them. In 1907 the Nestorian Katholikos ordained one of his archdeacons, Mâr Abîmlek (Abimelech), with the usual title Mâr Timotheus, and sent him to rule this revived Nestorian Church.¹ Mâr Timotheus now rules a small body of about eight thousand people at Trichur in the Cochin State. They conform in all things (except, apparently, in vestments) to the Nestorians of Qudshanis. In this way there is again a small body of Nestorians here. But they have no continuity from the old Nestorians of India. They are the modern schism of Mellus from the Uniates.

About the same time appeared an ambiguous person, Julius Alvarez. He is a Portuguese priest from Goa, originally a Latin. After the Vatican Council he apostatized and got himself ordained bishop by the Reformed party in 1888. For a time he was one of them. He has a small following in Ceylon (with a cathedral at Colombo). He calls himself Mâr Julius I. His party is chiefly famous for the begging letters they write and the doubt they cause to people who receive these letters as to who, exactly, they may be. Lately, Alvarez and his following appear to have gone over to the Jacobites of the new "Metran's party" (p. 373).²

Lately there has occurred a fresh schism among the Jacobites. In 1909 the Patriarch (Ignatius 'Abdullah Sattûf) came to India, quarrelled with Mâr Dionysius V, and excommunicated him. In his place he ordained a certain Mâr Cyril (Qîrilus). About half the Jacobites accept this, and are in communion with the Patriarch of Antioch. They have four bishops, Mâr Cyril, two suffragans, and a delegate of the Patriarch.³

¹ The portrait of this Mâr Timotheus, in Latin vestments, with an enormous Roman mitre and a portentous crozier, may be seen in Heazell and Margoliouth: *Kurds and Christians* (London, 1913), p. 196.

² In Dr. Richard's *Indian Christians*, Alvarez appears in a photograph with the bishops of the Metran's party (p. 63). It was this man who ordained the notorious Vilatte bishop. Vilatte (calling himself Mâr Timotheus) ordained Mr. Lyne ("Father Ignatius") priest at Llanthony.

³ This Jacobite delegate in India appears sometimes to be called by their old title "Mafrian."

No one who knows the Malabar people will be surprised to learn that Mâr Dionysius did not accept the deposition of his Patriarch. He promptly retorted that his Church is an autocephalous branch of the Church of Christ, that the Patriarch had no right to excommunicate him, that, in any case, he was not going to be deposed. Half the Jacobites followed him. So now again there are a "Patriarch's party" and a "Metran's party" (Dionysius' followers),¹ not in communion with one another. Then Dionysius, to strengthen his position, invited the ex-Patriarch, Ignatius 'Abdu-lMasîh, to India.² 'Abdu-lMasîh came, backed Dionysius against his hated rival Sattûf, agreed that Dionysius' deposition was invalid, and excommunicated Mâr Cyril and the "Patriarch's party." He then made a bishop of Dionysius' party (not Dionysius himself)³ its chief, with the title (new in India) Katholikos. This Katholikos is to be independent of Antioch and the Syrian Jacobites. He may ordain bishops by his own authority; when he dies they are to choose his successor. So 'Abdu-lMasîh, apparently more anxious to annoy Sattûf than to maintain the rights of Antioch over India, set up an autocephalous Jacobite Church at Malabar. 'Abdu-lMasîh, during his visit, ordained three new bishops to be suffragans of the Katholikos. His Katholikos died recently. Mâr Dionysius, Alvarez, and these three are now about to elect a Katholikos.

Now we turn to the Reformed Church. Their Mâr Athanasius Matthew (p. 370) ordained a bishop, Joseph Cyril, for a small group at Anjur (in British Malabar, north of Triclur), which accepts the Reformer's ideas and is in communion with them.

¹ Notice that these names now have a new sense. In the old days the "Patriarch's party" were the Jacobites, the "Metran's party" the Reformers (p. 371).

² There was considerable dispute among the Syrian Jacobites as to the lawfulness of 'Abdu-lMasîh's deposition and Sattûf's accession to the Patriarchate in 1906 (p. 339). I gather that Dionysius' idea was to maintain that it was unlawful, that Sattûf is no true Patriarch; so his action in India does not count. And 'Abdu-lMasîh, still lawful Patriarch, acknowledged Dionysius, and by his supreme authority made the Malabar Jacobites autocephalous. Needless to say, 'Abdu-lMasîh, now that he is a Catholic, repents of all these things. By his conversion he has rather left Dionysius and his friends in the lurch.

³ This is strange. I do not know the reason of it.

These two then ordained Mâr Thomas Athanasius (p. 371). When Athanasius Matthew died, Thomas Athanasius and Joseph Cyril ordained Joseph Athanasius, also for Anjur. Thomas and Joseph ordained George¹ Cyril, who is now Metran of Anjur. Joseph and George ordained Titus Mâr Thomas I to be Metran of the Reformed Church in Travancore. He and George ordained Titus Mâr Thoma II as auxiliary of Titus Mâr Thomas I. Titus Mâr Thoma II is now the only Reformed bishop in Travancore. A candidate, who will be ordained in time, is being educated at the Wyclif College at Toronto.

The Reformers call themselves the "Mâr Thomas Christians."² They are considerably Protestantized. They have no images, denounce the idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice, pray neither to saints nor for the dead, and use the vernacular (Malayalam) for their services. Mr. Daniel³ says they "hold views similar to those of the Church of England in matters of faith." If only we knew what the views of the Church of England in matters of faith are, it would be easier to estimate those of the Mâr Thomas Christians. However, he probably means that kind of Anglicanism which is taught by the C.M.S. They use St. James's Liturgy "with a few alterations in the prayers." The Jacobites deny the validity of the Reformers' orders, without reason, it seems.

The Christian Churches in Malabar then are these :

1. The Uniates (very considerably the majority ; over 400,000 ; with five bishops, 371 churches besides chapels, 418 secular and 72 regular priests, seven monasteries, 13 convents).⁴

2. Jacobites of the Patriarch's party (about 200,000 ; four bishops, including the Patriarch's delegate).

3. Jacobites of the Metran's party (about 200,000 ; five bishops, including Alvarez).

¹ Syriac : Gewârgîs.

² Namely, they affect one of the old names of all Malabar Christians, "Christians of St. Thomas."

³ Editor of the *Malankara Sabha Tharaka* (Star of the Malankara Church), organ of this body, to whom I am indebted for much information about the present state of Malabar.

⁴ From the last edition of the *Malabar State Manual*, pp. 872-873.

4. Mâr Thomas Christians (the Reformed body; about 100,000 ;¹ 168 churches, one bishop now alive).

5. The Church of Anjur in British Malabar (a small body with one bishop, in communion with the Mâr Thomas Church).

6. The Nestorians at Trichur (about 8000, one bishop).

7. " Church of England Syrians " (those who have joined the Church of England under the C.M.S. ; under the Anglican clergy).

8. The *Yoyomayans*, a small Christian Chiliast sect, founded in 1874 by a Brahmin convert, Justus Joseph, called " Vidvan Kutti " (the learned person).²

Lastly, there is a racial difference between the " Northist (Nordhist) " and " Southist (Suddhist) " Christians of Malabar. This crosses all the religious bodies and leads to much further quarrelling. Northists and Southists do not intermarry ; each despise the others. Even the Uniate Northists and Southists quarrel. The Southists have lately secured a special Vicar Apostolic of their own race. But this belongs to the history of the Uniate Churches.

With regard to their Canon Law, it may be taken that the Jacobites follow that of the Jacobite Patriarch, the small Nestorian body at Trichur that of Mâr Shim'un. The priests are " Katanars," the deacons " Shamâshe." The non-Uniates have no monks, nor nuns, nor minor orders. Silbernagl says that priests may marry after ordination !³ But so gross a violation of Canon Law seems impossible in any old Church. I think he must mean the Reformed sect, or confuse with them. They, naturally, hold the usual Protestant principles.

6. Faith and Rites

Little need be said about these, because both are simply Jacobite.⁴

The editor of the *Madras Church Missionary Record* for November, 1835, draws up a list of the " principal errors of

¹ Mr. Daniel says " about a lac."

² *Travancore State Manual* (1901), ii. 130-134.

³ *Verfassung, u.s.w.* p. 320.

⁴ Nestorian, of course, among the Trichur people.

the Syrian Church" which redound to its credit. They are eleven: "(1) Transubstantiation; (2) The sacrifice of the

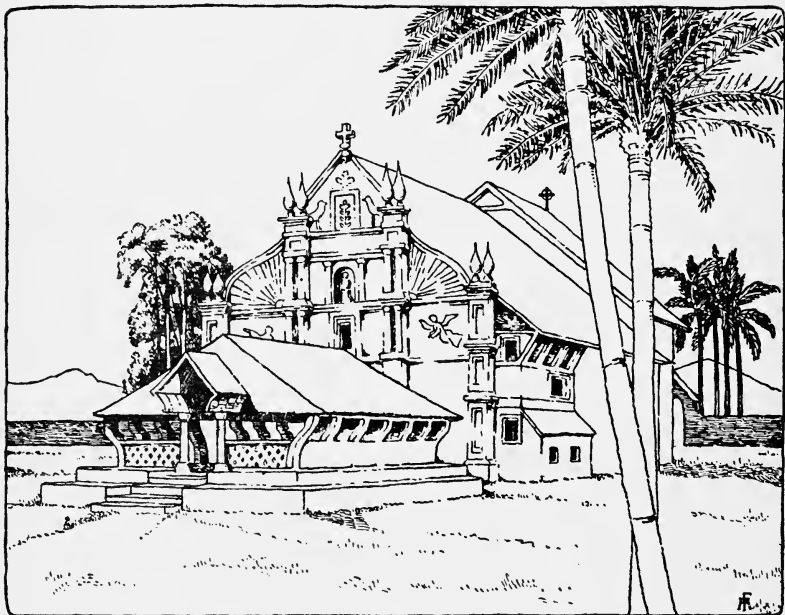


FIG. 13.—CHURCH AT KARINGACHERY.

Mass; (3) Prayers for the dead; (4) Purgatory; (5) Worship of the Virgin Mary, supplicating her intercessions and observing a fast in her honour; (6) Worship of saints; (7) Prayers in an unknown tongue; (8) Extreme Unction; (9) Attributing to the clergy the power to curse and destroy men's bodies and souls; (10) The having in their churches pictures representing God the Father; (11) Prayers to the altar and chancel." ¹ Allowing for the typical Protestant confusion contained in (9) and (11) (he means, of course, relative honour paid to the holy places), admitting (7) as no advantage, and (10) as undesirable, we should consider these errors a very creditable witness of sound Christianity. We notice that this ardent Protestant says nothing about Monophysism; so maybe

¹ Howard: *op. cit.* 175-176. Mr. Howard excuses many of these.

that heresy hardly exists in Malabar consciousness, unless (as is still more likely) the editor does not know what it means.¹ But he would certainly have denounced confession had he met it. I conclude that its use has fallen into abeyance here, as in many Eastern Churches.

The churches of the Malabar Jacobites appear to be all much alike—halls, not very large, without aisles, with a choir at the east separated by a low rail, and a sanctuary beyond an arch. The building has a simple gabled roof, that of the choir often higher than the rest. At both ends is a cross. The west front is ornamented with pilasters, carving, and sometimes painted decoration, often odd and barbarous looking to us.² Inside, from the chancel-arch hangs a curtain which is closed in the liturgy during the preparatory prayers and preparation of the offerings, open during the catechumens' liturgy till the prayer before the gospel, open again during the gospel and till the deacon begins the *Kathuliki* (see p. 350), closed during that, open after it, closed during the Communion of the clergy, open during the people's Communion and till the end. The chancel is slightly raised; it contains the altar, around which (except in front) stands a screen, carved and painted with angels blowing trumpets, crosses, flowers, elephants, and so on. On either side are side-altars or credence-tables.³

The clergy in private life used to dress in white cassocks, but put on a black one before vesting.⁴ Mr. Howard found one of the rival Metropolitans (the successful one) dressed in "a handsome

¹ Howard notes that Protestant missionaries are often ignorant of the very existence of the questions discussed at Ephesus and Chalcedon (*op. cit.* p. 112, n.).

² Their tradition says that once their churches were built like Hindu temples, that Thomas "Cannaneo" (p. 357) changed the shape to the usual one in Christendom (see Howard: *op. cit.* 16). All the pictures I have seen show churches which, in spite of the normal plan, have a strange, rather Hindu look, with a profusion of bad surface ornament. As an example, see the picture of the church at Karingachery (said to be 16th century), fig. 13.

³ It does not seem clear which they are (Howard: *op. cit.* p. 123). The Jacobites allow side-altars (see p. 344).

⁴ Howard, p. 133. But it seems that a white cassock is now the mark of the Reformed body. The Jacobite priests wear dark blue (since 1875), the Uniates black (Richards: *op. cit.* p. 7).

purple silk robe " ; ¹ his poorer rival had " a long white garment " and a turban.² Buchanan, in 1806, found the bishop in dark red silk.³ It does not appear that there is any strict rule about his dress. Their vestments are simply those of the Jacobites (see pp. 344-345),⁴ but with Latin additions (bishops wear a mitre, etc.). And all their rite is Jacobite too. Mr. Howard describes their holy liturgy,⁵ and prints the whole text with six anaphoras ; ⁶ they are the Jacobite ones of St. James, St. Peter, the Twelve



FIG. 14.—A MALABAR BISHOP.

Apostles, St. Dionysius, St. Xystus and John of Haran. Their pronunciation of Syriac appears to be curious, as one would expect in people who talk Malayalam. Mr. Howard gives two specimens of their singing, the Trisagion⁷ and a cadence he heard on Palm Sunday.⁸ Both are diatonic, so I suspect that his European ear has rather misled him. They accompany their chant with clashing cymbals and ringing bells. For the rest of the practices of the Jacobites of Malabar, for their calendar, fasts, and so on, we may refer to those of all Jacobites.⁹

Mr. Howard¹⁰ ends his account with words which I gladly transcribe here. " From the day when it was first planted in Malabar the gospel has ever done its work in pious souls.

In many a village, such as Chattanoor, Kayencolum, and others, remote from the scenes of strife, men and women have lived quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty, and in faithful dependence on their Redeemer. In the Church of Travancore,

¹ Howard, 155.

² *Ib.* 162.

³ P. 56.

⁴ Howard describes them on pp. 132-134. The frontispiece of his book is a beautiful picture of a Katanar vested. The vestments are absolutely Jacobite, and he wears a cap like the Copts (see p. 272). Germann's frontispiece shows the Metropolitan in ordinary dress.

⁵ Pp. 130-147.

⁶ Pp. 191-337.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 157.

⁸ *Ib.* 166.

⁹ Above, chap. ix. §§ 3-5.

¹⁰ He is a most sympathetic Anglican clergyman, and his book (*The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, Oxford, 1864) is very good reading. He is not very High Church ; but he cannot stand the ways of the C.M.S. He does not like Rome either.

as elsewhere, beneath the troubled surface there has ever been, and still is, a deep underflow of piety, which, from its gentle and unobtrusive character, is not chronicled in human records, but whose fruit will be found at the great day to the praise and glory of God.”¹

Summary

The Church of Malabar claims to have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas. Without committing ourselves to that, we may at any rate grant that at a very early date, perhaps in the 2nd century, there were Christians in India. Apparently, in the 4th century, a number of Persian Christians, fleeing from persecution, came to the south-western coast. They depended on the Katholikos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, used his rite and spoke Syriac. At least from that time Malabar had a line of Metropolitans ordained and sent out by the Katholikos. This is, then, one of the earliest of the famous missions of the East Syrian Church. Naturally, they followed their mother Church into the Nestorian heresy. In the 16th century the Portuguese came, and at the synod of Diamper in 1599 made this Church Uniate. But there was a reluctant party which returned to schism as soon as the Portuguese were driven out in 1663. However, the schismatics got their new line of bishops, not from the Nestorians, but from the Jacobites. They became Jacobite, probably understanding little of the issue involved, and adopted the Jacobite rite. Since then they have quarrelled incessantly among themselves, and have had continual mutual schisms and rival Metropolitans. The majority are Uniates. Among the others, most are Jacobites, now divided into two parties. The Church Missionary Society has formed a Reformed sect, called Mâr Thomas Christians. There are a small Nestorian body and several other sects.

¹ *Op. cit.* 167. I am also tempted to copy his conversation with a Malabar deacon at Kottayam. It seems to me most beautiful, in its bad Syriac and pigeon English: “*H.*: You know Yeshua? the great God, Yeshua Christ, God and Man: What *you* call him? *Deacon*: Yeshua Meshiha, Aloha dilan. *H.*: What is that?—Aloha dilan? Tell English. *D.*: Yeshua Meshiha, our God. *H.*: Yes. He plenty love man. He die for us. It is great business to serve him; and to tell his love” (pp. 156–157).

PART IV

THE ARMENIANS

OF the Churches now Monophysite the last to accept the heresy was that of the Armenians. Historically, or at any rate archæologically, they are not the most important of these lesser Eastern Churches. Their ecclesiastical arrangements date from about the 4th century, and are mainly only a local variety of those of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, also the direct parent of the Byzantine rite ; so that Armenian usages are mostly a mere variant of those of the Orthodox. The general impression of their Church is that it is not very ancient (at least in its laws, customs and rites), though it has one or two archaic features, that it does not represent an independent tradition from the earliest age. For this reason the Armenians seem less interesting than the Nestorians or Copts. On the other hand, they form considerably the largest Church discussed in this book. The Armenian nation and Church have played a great part in the East in later times. From the point of view of practical importance, of size and influence, even (in spite of the massacres) of prosperity, the Armenian Church is undoubtedly the second most important (after the Orthodox) in the East. The Armenians, too, have a glorious list of saints and martyrs ; especially during the last century they have borne ghastly treatment, so that their very name suggests horrors and blood.

CHAPTER XII

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN THE PAST

THIS chapter contains a summary outline of political Armenian history, with some account of the people, the story of their conversion to Christianity, the organization of their Church in the past, their schism from the rest of Christendom, their acceptance of Monophysism, and so an outline of the history of their Church down to our own time.

1. Political History

Although we now know the Armenians as scattered through Turkey, Persia, Russia, having outlying colonies in India, America, almost all over the world, there is, or was, a country Armenia, the original home, still the nucleus of their nation. Armenia lies west of the Caspian Sea towards (but south of) the Black Sea. In its widest extent it stretches from the Caucasus mountains on the north to the mountains of Kurdistan on the south. West of Armenia come Pontus and Cappadocia. The Euphrates runs through the land, dividing it into a much larger portion east and a small part west of the river. Following the later Roman geographers, we thus divide it into Greater Armenia, east of the Euphrates, and Lesser Armenia,¹ west. It is a high mountain-land, divided into two main river-courses, of which one slopes down to the Caspian Sea, the other southwards, with the Euphrates, towards Mesopotamia, and eventually to the Persian Gulf.

¹ Divided into two provinces, Armenia prima north, and secunda south.

There are high valleys and tablelands, thickly wooded. It is a fertile land and (we may note this at once as profoundly affecting its history) it was destined to be a frontier land between the Roman Empire and Persia, and then between Turkey and Persia. Here, at the dawn of history, dwelt a people who called themselves *Chaldini*; the Assyrians called them *Urartu*. In the 8th century B.C. this people formed a powerful state, against which the Assyrians fought. Then the Assyrians overcame them, destroyed their capital, and made them a province of Assyria. The Chaldini were Turanians,¹ speaking a language akin to that of the Sumerians and the later Ural-altaic nations. They have nothing to do with the Armenians. About the 6th century B.C., as part of the great Aryan migration, an Aryan people poured into this land. These are the Armenians. Their language is Aryan, forming a class of its own, together with (apparently) the hardly-known Phrygian.² Attempts to connect the Armenian language more closely with Persian are a failure. It is a special branch of the Aryan family, standing in appearance strangely apart from all the others. It has the most amazing combinations of consonants; except for its inflections, the build of its grammar and one or two words, it would hardly seem Aryan at all. "Armenian" is the name given to this people by the Greeks (*Ἀρμένιος*, *Ἀρμενία*); also used by the Persians (*Armina*), and in all European languages. They call themselves *Haikh* (plural of *Hai*) and their country *Hayastan*. They have wonderful legends concerning their descent from an eponymous hero Haik, grandson of Japhet, from whom they say they descend.³ After him in their legends follow various supposed ancestors, taken from the Bible. Noah plays a great part in their traditions. The heart of Armenia is Mount Ararat,

¹ The name Turanian is becoming old-fashioned. At any rate, they were neither Semites nor Aryans, which is rather a negative but not altogether a useless point of classification. Chaldini is, of course, a Hellenized or Latinized form of their name. It has nothing whatever to do with "Chaldæan." Naturally people have discussed the relation between the Chaldini and the mysterious Hittites.

² One theory of the Hittite inscriptions is that they are old Armenian.

³ N. Ter Gregor: *History of Armenia* (London: John Heywood, n.d., but 1897) tells us that the Garden of Eden was in Armenia (p. 15), and that his people are three centuries older than the Jews, inasmuch as Haik was born B.C. 2277, whereas Abraham was born only in B.C. 1996.

where they say the ark rested after the flood. Around this are all manner of stories. They show the places where he got out of the ark, where he first planted the vine, and they have a piece of the ark as a relic in their monastery at Etshmiadzin.¹

Returning to history, we find the Armenians first under the Medes, then under Persian authority. They rose with other vassal nations against Darius I (B.C. 521-486), but were subdued. Alexander (B.C. 336-323) included Armenia in his vast empire; when this broke up Armenia fell to the lot of the Seleucid kings. When Antiochus III (B.C. 223-187) was defeated by the Romans (B.C. 190) Armenia for the first time became an independent state. But it was not ruled by a native king. Two Greek generals of Antiochus, Artaxias and Zariadris, proclaimed themselves independent kings. Artaxias ruled most of Armenia proper, Zariadris made a smaller kingdom (Sophene) in the south-east. The rule of Artaxias's successors spread in the country round. Armenia became a great power. But the Parthian kings of the second Persian Empire (see pp. 21, 23) conquered the country, and made it a feudal state ruled by their satraps. Dikran (Tigranes) I (c. 90-55 B.C.), a descendant of Artaxias, rose against the Persians and made himself independent. His reign is the most glorious episode in Armenian history; but he was not a native Armenian. However, by this time, no doubt, his family had become so practically; he rules as Armenian king; Armenians have a right to be proud of his memory. He incorporated the other Armenian state (Sophene), and made a number of neighbouring princes pay him tribute. In B.C. 86 he conquered what was left of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria, and so made Armenia a very great power. A national poetic literature has grown up around this "King of Kings,"² and still the persecuted Armenian looks back to the age when subject princes obeyed Dikran.³ But this glorious period did not last long. The Roman power advanced in Asia,

¹ All the story of Noah's ark on Mount Ararat is a foreign tradition adopted by the Armenians. Moses of Khoren (see p. 396) knows nothing of it. Cf. Gen. viii. 4.

² He copied the usual Persian title.

³ An illustration in N. Ter Gregor (*op. cit.* p. 70), showing Dikran on a horse with four captive kings in so many crowns at his bridle, shows the Armenian imagination of their hero.

and reduced Armenia to its own boundaries in B.C. 66. It then became a helpless vassal state dominated alternately by Rome and Persia. These powers set up subject kings in turn. Trajan (A.D. 98-117) made the land a Roman province. But it came again under Persian influence. In 227 the Sassanid kings usurped power in Persia (p. 23). The Armenian princes took the side of the deposed line (the Arsacides), and so their land was persecuted by the usurpers. A king of Armenia (Khosrov) was murdered in 238 (?) by order of the Persian Government, and a determined attempt was made to force the Persian state religion (Mazdæism) on the unwilling people. Then in 261 King Trdat (Tiridates) II, who had fled to Roman territory, came back, drove out the Persians, and again made the country independent, though with considerable real dependence on Rome. During this time Armenia became Christian. Julian's unsuccessful Persian war (363) and the peace his successor Jovian (363-364) was forced to make after it, again handed over Armenia to the Persians. King Arshak (Arsaces) was deposed, carried off to Persia, and there died in captivity. The Emperor Valens (364-378) was able to restore what was a valuable bulwark-state to the empire, and made Arshak's son Pap king (367-374). Theodosius (379-395) made the deplorable mistake of dividing Armenia between Rome and Persia ; whereas he should, at any cost, have maintained a strong kingdom between the empire and its enemy. Manuel of Mamikon (378-385) was the last real king. In the division Persia got four-fifths of Armenia, Rome only a small corner in the West. Tributary kings, hardly more than titular, ruled now under Persian supremacy till 428 ; then the Persians deposed them and sent governors to hold the country. Armenia was now all Christian, hated the persecuting Persians ; its sympathies were all for the Christian Empire. It rebelled many times without success, till the Emperor Maurice (582-602) obtained it from the Persian King, and again made it a Roman province. So far we have seen Armenia bandied about between Rome and Persia. Then came the Arabs. About the year 639 they invaded the country from Mesopotamia and ravaged it horribly. In 642 they took the city of Duin, or Tovin, massacred a great number of its inhabitants, and carried off the rest into slavery. Now the unhappy Arme-

nians had to submit to new masters. Constantine IV (668-685) and Justinian II (685-695) managed for a time to reconquer parts of the land, but each time the Arabs came back.

Armenia is handed about between the empire and the Khalif. The people were already Monophysites; the Romans persecuted them almost as much as the Moslems. On the whole, the Arabs held the country most of the time and ravaged it without mercy. Then a native prince, Ashot I, in 856 succeeded in founding a dynasty (the Bagratids) under the supremacy of the Khalif. He ruled at Ani on the river Arpachai, south-east of Kars, over a considerable territory, including Iberia. This line of semi-independent Kings of Armenia lasted two centuries (856-1071); it was not altogether an unhappy time for the country, though there were continual wars with neighbouring Moslem Amirs, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the same Khalif.¹ Then the Selgûk Turks under Alp Arslan (p. 27) devastate Armenia. Gagik II (1042-1045), the last king of this line, is taken to Constantinople. In 1064 Alp Arslan took Ani; in 1071 its cathedral is turned into a mosque. After that the Byzantines, Turks and Tatars seize parts of the country and fight over it; but some small native princes manage to maintain their independence.² The systematic devastation of the country by the Turks put an end to Armenia itself as a state. The original home of the race (Greater Armenia) was never again a political unit. During this period of devastation by the Turks, and then again by the Mongols in the 13th century (p. 97), began the great exodus of Armenians. Fleeing from the horrors of their fatherland, great numbers wandered out to seek peace abroad. They came to Asia Minor, Persia,³ Thrace, Macedonia, as far as the Danube, to South Russia,

¹ F. Tournèize : *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris, s.a. but 1910), chap. ii. pp. 104-134, gives a good and readable account of the reigns of the nine kings of the Bagratid line; see also Lynch : *Armenia, Travels and Sketches* (2 vols., Longmans, 1901), i. 334-392; "Ani and the Armenian Kingdom of the Middle Ages."

² Ani was again made Christian by David II, King of Georgia. In 1239 Jenghiz Khan ravaged the city; in 1319 an earthquake ruined what was left. It is now only a heap of picturesque ruins (see Lynch : *op. cit.* i. 367-391).

³ In 1614 Shah Abbas carried off a colony of Armenians to New Julfa, near Ispahan, and built them a "new Etshmiadzin" there.

Poland and Hungary. In all these places they founded colonies, keeping their language, religion and national feeling. This wandering became a special note of the Armenians ; it is one of the striking likenesses between them and the Jews. Like the Jews, they formed foreign colonies in many countries ; they had special quarters in cities. Obeying the law of the land in which they found themselves, they yet always remained a foreign element, in no way amalgamating with the native population. Such is still their condition in many parts of the world.

A great number fled westward into Cappadocia, Cilicia and towards the Taurus mountains in the south of Asia Minor. Here they founded a new Armenia (Cilician Armenia), and established a kingdom (their last independence) which plays an important part in both ecclesiastical and political history. Rupen, a relation of the last Bagratid King, Gagik II, came to Cilicia with the remains of the nobility. In 1080 he made himself master of a fortress on the Taurus. Here he founded a principality, which after a century became an independent kingdom. The Crusaders were already in Syria. At first Rupen and his successors acknowledged the suzerainty alternately of the Latin Prince of Antioch and of the Roman Empire at Constantinople. They were content with the title baron. But they obtained a large territory in Cilicia. Their capital was Sis, north-east of Adana, on an affluent of the river Pyramus.¹ A new factor now enters, Latin influence on Armenians, of which many traces still remain (p. 416). The Barons of Sis, remembering the long persecution of the Byzantines, hating Moslems as their deadly enemies, eagerly welcomed the Crusaders. When these passed through Cilicia they supplied them with food, horses and weapons. They joined them in their war and intermarried with the families of Frankish princes. So Cilician Armenia was very considerably Latinized. The Church became Uniate (p. 415) ; the state adopted Western titles, customs, law ; it even used French and Latin for its official documents. There were one or two quarrels with the Franks, but they did not prevent the general good understanding. Leo (Ghevont) I, Baron of Sis (1129-1139), fought Byzantines and Turks successfully ; then he fought Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (1136). But he

¹ They had a Patriarch of Sis, whose successor still bears the title (pp. 417, 430)•

made peace again, and an alliance against the Emperor. Theodore (Thoros, 1141-1168) spread his barony at the expense of his neighbours. It was time to make it a kingdom. This was done by Leo II, the Great (1185-1219). When Frederick Red-beard (1152-1190) came a-crusading (1189), Baron Leo got him to promise that he, as Emperor, would make Leo a king. Frederick was drowned in Cilicia (1190), but his son Henry VI (1190-1197) kept his father's promise, acknowledged Leo as King of Armenia, and promised his protection. The Armenians of Cilicia were already Uniate, so Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) sent the new king a crown, and Cardinal Conrad of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, crowned him with it in the Church of the Holy Wisdom at Tarsus, on the Epiphany, 1199. The (Uniate) Armenian Katholikos of Sis (p. 416), Gregory Abirad, anointed the king. When the Roman Emperor at Constantinople (Alexios III, 1195-1203) heard of these relations between Armenia and the Crusaders, he was naturally alarmed, and he sent another crown with an invitation that Leo II should rather join the Orthodox. Leo appears to have kept this crown too. As king he waged wars with varying success, died in 1219, and was buried at Sis. He is, after Dikran I, the great political hero of Armenia.¹ The line of kings of the house of Rupen lasted till 1342. Meanwhile, the old native land, Greater Armenia, was ravaged by Jenghiz Khan and his Mongols (1220). Sultan Baibars of Egypt (p. 245) came on the scenes in Syria and Asia Minor and defeated the Armenians in 1266. Since the fall of the last Latin possessions in Syria ('Akka in 1291), the kingdom of Cilician Armenia, their ally and dependent, decayed, oppressed by enemies on every side. In 1342 the crown came legitimately to Guy de Lusignan,² first

¹ We have noted the Latinization of his kingdom. He appears like a Frank king. He made himself a coat of arms. Hitherto Armenians had borne on their standards an eagle, a dove, or a dragon. He made a lion couchant his royal arms (presumably or in a field gules; see Tournèize : *op. cit.* 186), which is at any rate one of the coats which has most claim to be the national arms of Armenia. The question of the Armenian arms is naturally now in abeyance. The Armenians have no time for heraldry, and the Turk does not encourage national arms among his subject races, certainly not among Armenians.

² Guy was son of Amaury de Lusignan and Zabel (Isabelle), aunt of Leo IV.

cousin of the last Armenian king, Leo IV¹ (1320-1342). Guy (1342-1344) fought valiantly against Turks and Egyptians ; he lost nothing of the land he had inherited. He was murdered by traitors in 1344. A usurper (Constantine II, 1344-1363) followed ; but the princes of the house of Lusignan came back. Leo V,² the last king who ever reigned over Armenians, succeeded in 1374. But the Amir of Hālib (Aleppo) attacked him, and after a year of war finally conquered the whole country. The king was taken prisoner ; for some time he was in danger of death for the faith which he refused heroically to deny. Eventually the Amir accepted a ransom. Leo came to France, died in 1393, and was buried in the church of the Celestine monks at Paris.³ That was the last ray of the old glory of the Armenian kingdom.⁴ The Ottoman Turks under Bayazet II (1481-1512) easily added all the Armenian lands to their vast empire. These were now the frontier-land between Turkey and Persia. The Armenians, always a weak folk on the border of two great powers, suffered equally from Turks and Persians. It was policy to keep one's frontier-land a desert, so that the enemy should find no provisions there if he invaded. The Turks systematically ravaged the land with this idea. In 1575 a Persian invasion brought fresh horrors. In the 17th century Shah Abbas (1586-1628) fought with the Turks over what had once been Armenia. In the 18th century an Armenian hero David († 1728) for a short time maintained a successful rebellion. Then Russia appears on the scene. The Armenians had already appealed to Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catherine II (1762-1796) for protection, without result. In 1829, after the Russian-Turkish war, Russia annexed the east of

¹ Otherwise Leo V.

² Or Leo VI.

³ On his tomb they wrote : " Cy gist très noble et excellent prince Lyon de Lysingne, quint, roy latin du royaume d'Arménie, qui rendit l'âme à Dieu, à Paris, l'an 1393. Priez pour lui " (Tournebize : *op. cit.* p. 751). His title " King of Armenia," went to his cousin James I (de Lusignan), King of Cyprus (1382-1398). From then to Catherine Cornaro (1474-1489) the Kings of Cyprus (and Jerusalem) added Armenia to their title. She sold her rights to the Republic of Venice, which advanced a claim on the shadowy kingdom of Armenia. But the house of Savoy inherits (through Charlotte de Lusignan, † 1487, who married Louis of Savoy) the empty titles of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia.

⁴ Most of the above account is condensed from Tournebize : *Hist. polit. et relig. de l'Arménie*.

Transcaucasia as far as the river Aras, and thus joined a great part of Armenia, and their holy place Etshmiadzin, to a Christian Empire. But, on the whole, Orthodox Russia has treated the heretical Armenians almost as badly as the Turks did (pp. 420-421).

Meanwhile Armenians had wandered all over Eastern Europe and into Persia and India. They no longer had a fatherland. But wherever they are, they keep their nationality in the most wonderful way. Other nations under such circumstances have disappeared from the face of the earth. The Armenian, wherever he may be, whatever Government he may be forced to obey, is always an Armenian. They keep together by their language and their religion. Undoubtedly, the national Church (which in the truest sense is their "nation") has been the main factor in their preservation. At least, the case of Armenia justifies the Turkish idea that religious communion makes a *millah*. They are not now at all a warlike people; they have the reputation of being cowards. They were never an artistic people, nor have they ever produced anything original in literature. They are bankers, money-changers, money-lenders, merchants. There is an Armenian colony, in an Armenian quarter, in every town in the Levant. In spite of massacres and persecutions, they have an extraordinary way of becoming prosperous. In all this their likeness to the Jews is remarkable. Like the Jews, they are a separate nation without a country, held together by their religion. The difference is that the Armenians have still the shadow, the relic of a country left. In a sense there still is an Armenia. Besides the scattered colonies of merchants and bankers in old Armenia, there is there a native population of peasants, though mixed with Kurds, Turks, Greeks, Syrians.¹ They are not a popular race. The Orthodox Triodion till lately contained a strange rubric: "It should be known that in this week (before Lent) the thrice-abominable Armenians (οἱ τρισκατάρατοι ἄρμένιοι) keep their accursed fast, which they call Artziburion; but we eat cheese and eggs every day, refuting their dogma of this heresy."² Now there may be some question as to whether it be a good plan to call other people thrice-abominable in liturgical books, but I fear few Christians in the

¹ See Sir Charles Eliot: *Turkey in Europe* (E. Arnold, 1908), p. 383.

² Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale* (Innsbruck, ed. 2, 1897), ii. p. 8.

East would dispute the justice of this amiable epithet. It is one of the misfortunes of this unhappy race that nobody likes them. Long ago St. Gregory of Nanzianos said: "I do not find the Armenians a noble race; they are very sly and vicious";¹ most of his countrymen would still endorse that statement. Armenians are not an attractive race. It is true that the ghastly persecution they have suffered should make people sympathize with them; but they seem to cringe and weep under it only, they never show fight;² so even the persecution has rather increased their neighbours' scorn. They share the unpopularity of the Jew for much the same reason. The people of the near East conceive the Armenian as a sharp man of business, a money-lender at usury, too clever for the simple peasant he despoils. Certainly the hatred of them and the readiness Kurds and Turks show to massacre them comes from economic rather than religious reasons. For why should Monophysites be more hateful to Moslems than the Orthodox? And their fellow-Monophysites the Jacobites are not massacred. It is the financial prosperity of Armenians and the idea that they have sucked their money from guileless peasants which makes them so hated. Many people, even Christians, will tell you that the savage Kurd who massacres has at least the virtues of a savage; he is brave, hospitable, honourable in his way. So they say they prefer him to the Armenian who can only weep when he is attacked,³ but who, in spite of everything, comes up again by clever business dealings.

The particular Armenian massacres which aroused the horror of the world did not begin till the latter half of the 19th century. Till then the Armenians were not worse treated than other Rayahs in Turkey. But, more obviously than in the case of any other *millah*, they have a claim to separate national existence and national aspirations. During the Russian war (1829), then by

¹ Oratio xliii. 17 (P.G. xxxvi. 517).

² I have heard stories of one Kurd climbing up into a hay-loft where about ten Armenians were hiding, quietly killing them all, and then coming down again. The Armenians wept, and prayed him to spare them.

³ I think certainly the most astonishing part of the story of the massacres is the ease with which whole districts of Armenians were calmly killed by quite small numbers of Kurds at their convenience. There does not ever seem to have been even a show of resistance.

the spread of Western ideas, of education, and so on, the memory of their lost independence began to foment in them. The Turks were forced to give them certain charters of comparative freedom¹ which only whetted their appetite for more. So began plots and secret societies. One celebrated secret society, the *Hintshak*, was founded in Paris in 1887. Treasonable newspapers were printed abroad and smuggled into the country. The Turk has a wild terror of secret societies, plots and conspiracies. He knew, too, that Europe sympathized with the Armenians; he saw them becoming more and more rich and powerful. Then came the massacres. I do not propose to tell again the details of a story which is still fresh in everyone's memory. The point to remember is that it is not a case of a lawless mob attacking Armenians on their own initiative. No doubt the Kurds were quite ready to kill their neighbours; but in every case they were deliberately appointed to do so by the Government. The soldiers not only gave no protection, they helped to massacre. The signal for the beginning and end of the slaying, looting, burning was given from the barracks or the Koniah. The massacres were done in obedience to secret (not even very secret) orders from the Yildiz Kiöshk. Why 'Abd-ulHamid II organized these massacres is not easy to say. Perhaps it was merely to terrify and repress a people whose national consciousness was growing; perhaps in some characteristically tortuous way he hoped to provoke interference from Europe, and to gain something from it.² In any case, the blood of the Armenians remains the reddest stain on the hands of that bloody tyrant. In 1890 the massacres began at Erzerum. In 1893 there was another massacre and ghastly torturing. In 1894 there was a great massacre in the Sasun district. The chief massacre of all was from October to November 1895. This began in Trebizond, and spread throughout the Armenian lands. Between fifty thousand and one hundred

¹ The so-called "Armenian Constitution" of 1860, the Convention of 1878, etc. (Eliot: *op. cit.* 395-398).

² Sir Charles Eliot thinks that "the massacres seemed to aim at such a reduction of the Armenian population that it should be impossible to contend they were the predominating element in any district" (*Turkey in Europe*, p. 408). Deliberate massacres as a move in politics seem inconceivable to us; but then we are not Turks.

thousand were killed, forty thousand children were left orphans, enormous numbers perished from starvation as the land was ravaged. In 1896 were fresh massacres in Zaitūn and Van. In the same year (following the attempt of some Armenians on the Ottoman bank at Galata) the Government let loose a horde of Kurds and Lazes armed with clubs, who killed about six thousand Armenians in the streets of Constantinople, under the eye of the Diplomatic Corps. The Embassies brought evidence and openly accused the Government of having organized this massacre. The Government merely said they were mistaken.¹ Nor has the change of Government produced any better effect. The Turkish Committee of Union and Progress treads faithfully in the steps of the tyrant it deposed. In 1909, twenty-five thousand Armenians were again massacred in Cilicia. It seems that under the Turk there is no hope for this ill-fated race.

Armenians have a considerable literature. The language has gone through the inevitable development, and has formed several new dialects. There are a classical, a mediæval literary, and various modern spoken forms of Armenian. The liturgical language is classical, now only partially understood by those who have not specially studied it.² Their literature begins with a translation of the Bible made by St. Mesrob (p. 409), and others in the 4th century. They have translations of Greek, Latin and Syriac Fathers, commentaries on the Bible, versions of philosophical works (Plato, Aristotle, etc.), some poetry (chiefly hymns in their services), and especially history (Eusebius translated, etc.) Armenian literature consists to a great extent of translations,³

¹ A most temperate account of the massacres down to 1907 will be found in Eliot : *op. cit.* 402-413.

² I take it the relation of liturgical Armenian to the modern colloquial language is something like that of classical to modern Arabic, or Old Slavonic to Russian. The Armenian alphabet was formed by St. Mesrob (pp. 408-409) from Greek letters, although it looks very unlike Greek to us. This has a cursive form for modern use.

³ Of which some are of great value, since the originals are lost. The first part of Eusebius' Chronicle exists only in Armenian. In other cases their version preserves an important independent tradition of the text (so the Apology of Aristides). The Armenian Bible (from the Septuagint) has considerable critical value.

and is almost entirely ecclesiastical. But they have a native school of historians too.

For the early history of Christianity in Armenia there are two authentic sources of first importance—Faustus and the life of St. Gregory in Agathangelos. *Faustus Byzantinus* is a native Armenian of the family Saharunikh. He lived in the 4th century and was in Holy Orders.¹ He wrote in Greek a *Historical Library*, of which Books iii–vi contain the story of the conversion of Armenia and the history of the Armenian Church down to the division of the country between Rome and Persia in 385 (p. 386).² It is not known why he is called “Byzantine”; either because he writes in Greek, or because of a sojourn he made at Constantinople.³ He writes in Greek because there was no possibility of a native literature till Mesrob invented an Armenian alphabet (pp. 408–9). *Agathangelos* is the pseudonym of an unknown Armenian writer of the 5th century.⁴ He fictitiously calls himself Agathangelos,⁵ secretary of King Trdat II (261–314?). His work, *History of the reign of King Trdat and of the preaching of St. Gregory*,⁶ exists in two recensions, Armenian and Greek, of which the Armenian appears to be the original.⁷ The author culls from many sources. Alfred v. Gutschmid in a careful examination of the text concludes that there is here a coherent nucleus of primary value, which he separates from the rest as the (original) *Life of St. Gregory*.⁸ Into and around this the compiler has woven many later legends. *Lazarus of Pharbi*, at the end of the 5th century, wrote a *History of Armenia*⁹ from various sources, chiefly from Faustus. The Vartapet¹⁰ Elisæus about the same time composed a history of the war against the

¹ He must not be confused with the schismatically ordained Bishop Faustus of his time (see p. 407).

² In V. Langlois: *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* (2 vols., Paris, 1880), i. 209–310.

³ H. Gelzer: “Die Anfänge der armen. Kirche” (*Verhdl. der K. Sächs. Ges. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. classe, i. ii. 1895), 114–116.

⁴ He uses Mesrob's version of the Bible (412); but Moses of Khoren and Lazar of Pharbi quote him.

⁵ “Bearer of good tidings,” an obviously assumed name.

⁶ In Langlois: *op. cit.* i. 105–200.

⁷ Gutschmid: *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1889), iii. 339.

⁸ Gutschmid: *Agathangelos* (in his *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 339–420).

⁹ Langlois: *op. cit.* ii. 259–367.

¹⁰ For this title see below, p. 431.

King of Persia, Yazdagird II (439-451).¹ The most famous, though the least reliable Armenian historian is *Moses of Khoren*,² called the Herodotus or the Eusebius of his country. He claims to be a disciple of Sahak and Mesrob, writing his *History of Armenia*³ soon after 458. His account, especially his chronology, dominated all later Armenian writers and all who wrote about the country.⁴ Gutschmid has now shown that his chronology is impossible, and the historical value of his work almost nothing.⁵ He draws from all manner of doubtful sources, embellishes his story with impossible legends, and (especially as to dates) is not innocent of deliberate fraud.⁶ Since Moses' dates are thoroughly unsound, and no one else gives any, the chronology of early Armenian Church history is very uncertain.⁷

The total number of Armenians in the world is estimated at between three and a half and four millions, of whom about 1,300,000 are in Turkey, 1,200,000 in Russia, 50,000 in Persia, and the rest dispersed in India, Egypt, Europe and America.⁸ The great majority of these are members of the Monophysite national (so-called Gregorian) Church (p. 432).

2. The Conversion of Armenia

The Apostle of Armenia is St. Gregory the Illuminator, in the 3rd and 4th centuries. But there were Armenian Christians before his time.⁹ We shall not be surprised that this Church,

¹ Langlois, ii. 183-251.

² Khor'ni in Tarōn.

³ Langlois, ii. 53-175 (French); Armenian edition, Venice, 1843. Gutschmid thinks he wrote really between 634 and 642.

⁴ Gibbon knew it in George Whiston's edition (Armenian and Latin, London, 1736), and uses Moses' wrong chronology for Armenia throughout.

⁵ *Ueber die Glaubwürdigkeit der armen. Gesch. des Moses v. Khoren (Kleine Schriften, iii. 282-331)*; *Moses von Chorene (ib. iii. 332-338)*.

⁶ Thus, to evade the seven years of the reign of Manuel of Mamikon (378-385) he deliberately advances all former dates by as many years (Gutschmid: *op. cit.* 292).

⁷ A sketch of Armenian literature (by N. Finck) will be found in C. Brockelmann: *Gesch. der Christl. Litteraturen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 75-130; also in A. Baumstark: *Die Christl. Literaturen des Orients* (Sammlung Götschen), 1911, ii. 61-99.

⁸ Tournebize: *op. cit.* 7-8.

⁹ Tournebize (pp. 765-769) examines the original paganism of the Armenians. It was a local polytheism, strongly affected by Persian mythology.

too, claims to be apostolic. In the national legend St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddæus come and preach the gospel in Armenia soon after Whitsunday. Armenians have further appropriated the story of King Abgar the Black and the portrait of our Lord (pp. 29-31). Armenia to the south touches the old kingdom of Osroene. They have made Abgar an Armenian king. In this form the legend is doubly untrue. For not only is the whole story apocryphal (p. 31), but in any case, Abgar would have nothing to do with Armenia.¹ Moreover, the Armenians have to suppose a general apostasy later, to account for the persecution of St. Gregory. We may then leave the account of a directly apostolic foundation as merely one more case of the invariable desire of each Eastern Church to be apostolic. Nor is it compatible with the legend of a directly Divine foundation later (p. 409, n. 3). Yet we have evidence of Christians, even of a bishop, in Armenia before the Illuminator. When Dionysius of Alexandria (248-265) wrote to the Armenians "about penitence," they had a bishop named Meruzanes.² It seems that the faith penetrated into Armenia from Edessa during the 2nd or 3rd century.³ This earliest Church was destroyed by the Persians when they overran Armenia in the 3rd century (p. 386). Consistently with the policy of the Sassanids they tried to force Mazdæism on all their subjects (p. 25). The mission of St. Gregory is part of the general revolt of Armenia against the Persian tyrant. When King Trdat II came back in 261 and drove out the Persians (p. 386), at the same time a young Armenian of noble family,⁴ who had

¹ The legend is told in the Armenian version of Lerubna of Edessa (in Langlois: *op. cit.* i. 326-331), and by Moses of Khoren (*ib.* ii. 93-100). Addai here appears as St. Thaddæus, and their lists of *Katholikoi* count him the first. See A. Carrière: *La légende d'Abgar dans l'hist. d'Arm. de Moïse de Khoren* (Paris, 1895). Tournebize discusses the story at length (*op. cit.* 402-413).

² Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 46. Gelzer ("Die Anfänge der armen. Kirche") places Meruzanes in the isolated south-eastern corner of Armenia, in Vaspurakan (p. 172).

³ Tournebize: *op. cit.* 413-418.

⁴ He is said to have been of Parthian blood, son of the very Anak who murdered the last king, Khosrov, in 238 (?). Gutschmid doubts this. He notices that in Agathangelos' account Trdat says to Gregory: "You are a stranger and unknown among us" (Langlois, i. 126), and concludes that he was a foreigner (*Kl. Schr.* iii. 409). Gelzer thinks he was of an Armenian pagan sacerdotal family (*op. cit.* 146-148).

been taken as an infant to Cæsarea in Cappadocia,¹ was there learning the faith and the customs of Greek-speaking Christians. He was born between 233 and 255,² and was baptized at Cæsarea as Gregory. When Trdat (Tiridates) had restored Armenian independence, Gregory came back to his own country and obtained a place at court. Full of zeal for Christianity, he began to preach it. Trdat was still a pagan; he persecuted Gregory, tortured him, and threw him into a well or deep pit, where, the Armenians say, he languished for fifteen years, fed by a pious widow named Anna. Meanwhile, the Christians, of whom there seem to be many,³ are fiercely persecuted. We hear of virgins, St. Gaiane and St. Hripsime, who were martyred with thirty-five companions.⁴ But the king is struck down by some terrible disease; he is said to have been possessed by a devil and changed into the likeness of a wild boar. A dream reveals that only Gregory can heal him. They send for Gregory, release him from his pit; he comes, heals and baptizes the king. Here occurs the legend of Etshmiadzin. At the old royal capital Valarshapat,⁵ Gregory had a vision. He was meditating at night when he saw the heavens open, a blaze of glory cover the earth, and our Lord descend bearing a golden hammer, with which he struck the earth. Then a mighty golden column arose, surmounted by a cross. Around it arose three smaller red columns. Above these Gregory saw a great temple rise, with a throne of gold bearing a cross; from the temple flowed a stream which became a great lake. Vast numbers of black goats passed through the water and became white lambs. The smaller red columns mark the places of the martyrdom of St. Gaiane, St. Hripsime and their companions. The larger golden column means the Primacy of Armenia, to be fixed here;

¹ Great numbers of Armenians fled to Roman territory to escape the Persians.

² Tournèbize: *op. cit.* 49.

³ Presumably either Christians who had remained from earlier times, in spite of the Persians, or converts already made by Gregory.

⁴ They keep their feast on October 5.

⁵ The letter transcribed *l* in this word became a guttural in the later language. So it is often spelt "Vagharshapat" (hence also Ghevont for Λέων, p. 388, etc.). The West Armenians make surds (k, t, p) of the letters pronounced sonants (g, d, b) by East Armenians; hence variant transliteration of many words (vartapet, vardabed, etc.).

it is greater and more splendid even than the martyrs' glory. So Gregory built a church where he had seen the vision, on the model of the mystic temple he had seen, and the name Valarshapat was changed to Etshmiadzin, meaning "the Only-begotten has descended."¹ The whole of this story in particular can be proved to be apocryphal. It is a late invention, after the schism with Cæsarea (p. 409), to glorify the office of Katholikos, to represent the national Church as founded by an independent commission of our Lord, and to exalt the later centre Etshmiadzin.² We shall see that in the first period the centre of Armenian Christendom was not there but at Ashtishat (p. 403).

After this Gregory went back to Cæsarea with a splendid retinue, and Leontius, the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, ordained him bishop for Armenia (302?). He was married and had two sons, Vrtanes (Bardanes) and Aristakes or Rhestakes.³ When he came back as bishop the Armenian writers of his life tell us more wonders. He travels about the country with the king and his army, putting down heathenry. The false gods fight against this army in person, but are defeated by Trdat's valour and Gregory's prayers. He is said to have baptized four million persons in seven days; to have ordained twelve bishops, all sons of heathen priests, whom he sent to preach the gospel throughout Armenia; to have at last ruled a Church of four hundred bishops and priests too numerous to count. He died, perhaps between 315 and 326,⁴ and was buried at Thortan on the Euphrates, where later a monastery and church were built. The Armenian lives of the saint abound in these and greater marvels. When he came out of the pit he fasted, eating no food for seventy days. When he comes before the king a long speech is put into his mouth, which takes up half his life in Agathangelos.⁵ It is simply a compendium of what the

¹ Agathangelos, 102 (Langlois, i. 156-160).

² See Gelzer: *op. cit.* 126-131; Gutschmid: *Kl. Schr.* iii. 382, 395. The vision of St. Gregory is not part of the original Life in Agathangelos.

³ There is no difficulty about a married bishop in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The father of St. Gregory of Nazianzos (330-390) was a bishop and married. Nearly all the early Armenian bishops were married (p. 402).

⁴ Tournèize: *op. cit.* 59.

⁵ Omitted in Langlois (i. 153).

Armenians believed in the 5th century, when evidently it was composed. It gives an account of Bible history, refutes Arianism, Nestorianism and all other heresies down to that time. This supposed "Confession of St. Gregory" became a kind of creed to Armenians. In spite of all the wonders,¹ St. Gregory's education and ordination at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the conversion of the king and evangelization of Armenia by him in the early 4th century are undoubtedly historical. Armenians remember him with good reason as their apostle and great national saint. They call him rightly St. Gregory the Illuminator (Srbotz Grigor Lusavoritsh).²

3. Catholic Armenia

Putting aside the later traditions (Moses of Khoren), which project into the first period of Armenian Church history the customs of their own time, we have a curious picture of the first Christian century. The dates of the conversion usually given are: King Trdat II, 259 or 276 to 314. St. Gregory and he are said to be born in the same year, 237. Trdat's conversion is put at about 290-295, Gregory's ordination at 302 and his death at 325. But this depends on Moses of Khoren's unreliable chronology.³

With the conversion of King Trdat,⁴ Christianity became the

¹ In the article: "Gregory the Illuminator" in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, I have tried to distinguish the historical and the legendary elements of his life. See also further bibliography there.

² They keep feasts of his birth (August 5), sufferings (February 4), going into the pit (February 28), coming out of the pit (October 19), and translation of his relics (September 30). The Byzantine Church keeps his feast (Γρηγόριος ὁ φωστὴρ) on September 30, as do the Jacobites. He occurs in the Roman martyrology on September 30 as: "Episcopus magnæ Armeniæ." Pope Gregory XVI put a feast among those "pro aliquibus locis" on October 1 for: "S. Gregorius, patriarcha Armeniæ, martyr, vulgo Illuminator." He was neither a patriarch nor a martyr. But it may be wished that the feast of the apostle of a great Christian nation be kept by the whole Roman rite.

³ See the discussion in Tournèize: *op. cit.* 424-444. We shall see that all these dates (down to Shahak I) are unreliable (p. 402, n. 1). They are often not even consistent with one another.

⁴ The fact of Trdat II's conversion is undoubtedly historical.

religion of the state, the court, and aristocracy. Armenians have a right to their boast that their nation was the first to embrace Christianity officially ; it did so a score of years or so before the Roman Empire. But paganism lingered for some time among the people, especially in the remote parts of the country. As late as the time of Vrtanes, the third primate, even at Ashtishat, the Christian centre of Armenia, there was an insurrection of pagan priests and their followers, who tried to kill the bishop.¹ We hear of pagan funeral rites in 378.² The pagan priesthood formed a rich and powerful military class ; naturally, they opposed the new religion in every way. It was, no doubt, in order to break down this opposition that St. Gregory constantly chose pagan priests, or their sons, to be Christian priests or bishops. We do not know how many suffragans Gregory ordained. The later legendary tradition makes him erect an impossible number of sees, as many as four hundred. But it seems clear that he had suffragans, and left a large, well-organized Church at his death, though it was not yet the religion of all Armenians. Towards the end of his life he ordained his second son, Aristakes, to succeed him, and then retired to a hermitage.³ There is some mystery as to why the elder son did not succeed first.⁴ Aristakes was present at the Council of Nicæa in 325.⁵ Against the custom of that time in the Armenian Church, he did not marry and had no son. They had already evolved the idea of a hereditary succession in the Illuminator's family. So they fell back on the elder brother, Vrtanes, and made him Katholikos. Vrtanes was succeeded by his son Yusik.⁶ Yusik's son is said to have refused ordination, so he was succeeded by a cousin, Pharen or Pharnersseh ;⁷ then came Shahak ; the primacy came back to

¹ Faustus, iii. 3 (Langlois, i. p. 211).

² Faustus, v. 36 (*ib.* 298).

³ St. Gregory died and was buried at Thortan.

⁴ Gelzer thinks it is because the elder son " had at first no inclination for the priesthood " (" Anfänge der arm. Kirche," 144).

⁵ Agathangelos, 127 (Langlois, i. 190) ; in the Latin list in Mansi (ii. 699) occurs : " Armeniæ maioris Aristaces."

⁶ For Vrtanes' marriage and two sons see Faustus, iii. v. (*ed. cit.* 212).

⁷ Yusik's sons " trampled under foot the spiritual honour " ; so the people determined " to find someone of the house of Gregory who could fill the throne of the Patriarchs " (Faustus, iii. 15 ; *ed. cit.* i. p. 227). The hereditary idea was clearly accepted.

the direct line in Nerses, Yusik's grandson, who died before 374.¹ Nerses marks an epoch.

In this early Armenian Church we notice first a strong Jewish tendency. As the Kings of Abyssinia claimed descent from Solomon, so did those of Armenia (the Arsacids) from Abraham. In their history occur deliberate reproductions of Old Testament scenes.² There are traces of royal polygamy after Christianity.³ The chief eunuch of the king's harem was a great nobleman.⁴ Gelzer says that the hereditary Primates with their sacerdotal family were more like the old Jewish High Priests than Christian bishops.⁵ Not only the Primates, other bishops, too, were married and had families, in which priestly rank was hereditary⁶ (though, of course, all were ordained). The sons of bishops often led disedifying lives, hunting and fighting like young noblemen, though they were ordained deacons. There was a great rival family to that of St. Gregory, namely, the house of Albanos. Albanos was the son of a pagan priest, converted and ordained bishop by the Illuminator.⁷ His descendants appear constantly as rivals who, for a time, obtain the primacy. Shahak, who succeeded Pharen, was the first Katholikos of Albanos' house.⁸

The Katholikos was a very great lord. He was very rich, had vast possessions consisting of fifteen districts,⁹ rode in a royal chariot, was attended by twelve bishops, and went up to Cæsarea in royal state, accompanied by princes, to be ordained.¹⁰

The early Primates of Armenia did not take their title from any

¹ Malachy Ormanian (*L'Église arménienne*, Paris, 1910) gives these dates: St. Gregory †325, Aristakes 325–333, Vrtanes 333–341, Yusik 341–347, Pharen 348–352, Shahak 352, Nerses 353–375 (pp. 14–15; cf. 172). Tchamitch (in Langlois, ii. 387) makes them all succeed earlier. Faustus and Moses of Khoren disagree (see the lists compared in Gelzer: *op. cit.* 121). There is no certainty in these early dates. Nerses died before 374, because King Pap murdered him, and Pap himself died in 374.

² Faustus, iii. 11 (Langlois, i. p. 221); v. 4 (*ib.* p. 282).

³ Arshak III (341–370?) had two wives, Pharandzem and Olympia (Faustus, iv. 15; *ed. cit.* i. p. 253).

⁴ Faustus, iv. 14 (i. 249–250).

⁵ Gelzer: *op. cit.* 140.

⁶ Faustus, iv. 12 (i. 248); vii. 8 (i. 308).

⁷ Agathangelos, 120 (Langlois, i. 181); Faustus, iii. 4 (*ib.* p. 212).

⁸ Faustus, iii. 17 (i. 228).

⁹ Faustus, iv. 14 (i. 250).

¹⁰ Faustus, iii. 16 (i. 227).

city. As often happens in the case of missionary Churches, they were called simply Archbishop or Katholikos of the Armenians. The title " Patriarch " does not occur till after the breach with Cæsarea (p. 408), though later writers sometimes project it back to the earlier period.¹ Nor have they ever used a special local title. This fact explains to a great extent the frequent later disputed successions. If the primacy were attached to a particular see, the man who (whether *de iure* or *de facto*) held that see would have an obvious claim to it. But so vague a title as Katholikos of Armenia would be, and was, claimed by various bishops at the same time, each ruling over a political fraction which was called Armenia. So, with the breaking up of the old kingdom, each rival king or prince who called himself sovereign of Armenia had at his court a Katholikos, whose claim was as good as that of the temporal sovereign.

However, till the 5th century, whereas the king resided at Valarshapat, the Primate was not there, but far away, at *Ashtishat* in Tarōn, on the Euphrates, in the south of Armenia. Ashtishat, not Etshmiadzin, was the first metropolis of the Armenian Church. All early accounts show this. Valarshapat (the later Etshmiadzin), the place of martyrdom of the Saints Gaiane, Hripsime and their companions, has at first no ecclesiastical importance at all. Agathangelos tells us that at Ashtishat, on the site of temples of pagan gods, St. Gregory erected an altar to Christ. " It is here that churches and altars in the name of the Holy Trinity and baptismal fonts were first set up." ² Faustus calls Ashtishat " the mother, the first and greatest of all the churches of Armenia, the chief and most honoured see. For here for the first time a holy church was built and an altar set up in the name of the Lord." ³ The sons of Yusik lead a disorderly life " in the episcopal palace " at Ashtishat, ⁴ the first synods are held there, ⁵ when Hair, the chief eunuch, wants to receive the blessing of Nerses, he goes to find him at Ashtishat. ⁶ In short, a multitude of evidences leaves no doubt that Ashtishat was the original metropolis.

¹ Gutschmid : *Kl. Schr.* iii. 353.

² Agathangelos, 114-115 (Langlois, i. 173-176).

³ Faustus, iii. 14 (Langlois, i. p. 224) ; *cf.* iii. 3 (*ib.* i. 211).

⁴ Faustus, iii. 19 (*ed. cit.* i. p. 229).

⁵ Faustus, iv. 4 (*ib.* i. 239).

⁶ Faustus, iv. 14 (*ib.* i. 250).

We come to the question of the place of the Armenian Church in the body of Christendom. This is perfectly simple, and perfectly regular. It was a missionary Church dependent on Cæsarea, subject to the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, just as the Persian Church was on Edessa, and Ethiopia on Alexandria. Modern Armenian writers, supposing the legend of Etshmiadzin, claim that their Church was autocephalous, independent of any foreign authority from the beginning.¹ It was for just such a purpose that this legend was invented, after the Armenians had broken with their mother-Church. There is no possibility of such a position, and none for so monstrous a person (at that time) as a "Patriarch" of Armenia. Moreover, we have the clearest direct evidence of Armenian dependence on Cæsarea.

Till the Council of Ephesus (431) made Cyprus extra-patriarchal, on the strength of its alleged apostolic foundation,² there was no such thing as an autocephalous national Church. There were three, and only three, Patriarchs in Christendom—the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch; all Christians were ultimately subject to one of these, and of them the Roman Patriarch was chief of his brothers.³ Missionary Churches obeyed the bishop of the mother-Church. We have seen this in the case of Persia (pp. 42, 49) and Abyssinia (pp. 296, 299). It is no less clear in the case of Armenia. Here the mother-Church was Cæsarea in Cappadocia. St. Gregory the Illuminator came from Cæsarea; he went back there to be ordained. He ordained his son Aristakes himself (p. 401); we do not know who ordained Vrthanes. But then till Nerses all the Armenian Primates went up to Cæsarea, with a great retinue, to be ordained. Agathangelos makes Leontius claim this as a right for all time.⁴ We have seen that in the East the right of ordination always implies ecclesiastical jurisdiction (pp. 37, 300, etc.); the sign of an autocephalous Metropolitan is that he is ordained by his own suffragans, as was the Archbishop of Cyprus after Ephesus.⁵ So, consistently, after their schism with Cæsarea the Armenian Primates began to be ordained by

¹ E.g. Ormanian: *L'Église arménienne*, 11-14.

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, 47-50.

³ *Ib.* 8-9.

⁴ Gutschmid, *op. cit.* iii. 392; Gelzer, *op. cit.* 160; Tournebize, *op. cit.* 56 (not in Langlois).

⁵ *Orth. Eastern Church*, 48.

their suffragans. All the more significant are their former journeys to Cæsarea. Gelasius of Cyzicus in his history of the Council of Nicæa counts Armenia "both great and little" as a province of Cæsarea.¹

The title of the Armenian Primate proves his dependence. He was not a Patriarch before the schism. Leontius sometimes uses this name loosely, as do many writers.² But the regular, almost invariable title is "Katholikos."³ It appears that this name was first used for the Armenian Primate; from him it was borrowed later by the Primate of Persia (p. 49) and others. In civil language the Katholikos was the emperor's minister of finance.⁴ In Christian ecclesiastical use it had a definite meaning. Taken because of its obvious suggestion (Catholic), it meant always the Primate of a great Church, more than a Metropolitan, but one who is subject to a greater bishop. "Exarch" is rather a lesser kind of Patriarch, independent of anyone, save, of course always, of the central authority of Rome over the whole Church.⁵ Katholikos implies dependence; a Katholikos (like the Syrian Mafrian) is the vicar of a greater bishop. So Faustus calls the Primates of Iberia and Albania "Katholikoi," because they are under Armenia;⁶ he calls the Metropolitan of Cæsarea Katholikos, because he is subject to the Patriarch of Antioch.⁷ The modern Armenians have so forgotten the meaning of the word that, having now many "Patriarchs," they use "Katholikos" as meaning "Chief Patriarch" (p. 430). Lastly, the story of their schism from Cæsarea, and St. Basil's protest against it, show that then their claim to independence was new (p. 407).

In this first period, then, the Armenian Church was part of the Catholic Church. It took a normal place, as an outlying mission

¹ Mansi, ii. 881. In spite of this explicit statement, Ormanian says that writers who count Armenia under Cæsarea mean only Armenia Minor (*op. cit.* 13). Then he talks about: "l'histoire consciencieusement étudiée" (*ib.*).

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, 8, n. 2.

³ "Kathoghikos" in the later Western pronunciation.

⁴ So Eusebius: *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 105.

⁵ *Orth. Eastern Church*, 8, 21.

⁶ Faustus, iii. 6 (Langlois, i. 214).

⁷ Eusebius of Cæsarea is the "Katholikos of Katholikoi," having under him those of Armenia, Iberia, etc., himself under Antioch. Faustus, iv. 4 (*ed. cit.* i. p. 238).

of Cæsarea, in the great united body of which the chiefs were the three Patriarchs, and the Roman Patriarch head of the chiefs. The Armenians were Catholic in faith too, in spite of their hereditary episcopates and other abnormal customs. They accepted, and still accept, the first three General Councils.¹ In spite of her remote, almost isolated position, she was conscious of the Primacy of St. Peter. Even after her schism, the Katholikos Hovhannes (John) I (478-490) refers "those who have made shipwreck of the faith" to "the door-keeper and key-bearer of heaven, Peter."² Like all Eastern Churches the Armenians still consider the Pope to be the chief bishop of Christendom (p. 427).

4. The Breach with Cæsarea

Before the rise of the heresy which was to engulf her, the Armenian Church endangered her position by breaking the bond which held her in a canonical position, joined in the orderly scheme of the great united Church.³ The Armenian breach with Cæsarea is a disgraceful example of injustice and of the interference of a civil tyrant in Church matters. It begins by a schism in Armenia against the lawful Katholikos.

Although after Trdat II the Armenian kings were Christians, it was not long before quarrels began between the Church and the state. Yusik, the fourth Katholikos, reproached King Tiran II (325-341 ?) for various immoralities, and was martyred by his order.⁴ Yusik's grandson Nerses was a great reformer. He had been educated at Cæsarea, and began the abolition of Armenian irregularities and the principle of conforming to the

¹ Ormanian, *op. cit.* 21. For acceptance of Ephesus see Tournèbize, *op. cit.* 86-87, 506. The Armenians, later Monophysites, were always strongly anti-Nestorian. They held a synod against Theodore of Mop-suestia in 435.

² Tournèbize: *Hist. politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1900), 87-88. There are many texts about the Papacy by early Armenian writers. These will be considered in the next volume.

³ The parallel between all this story and that of the Persian Church is obvious. Persia went into schism before she became heretical. In Persia, too, the originally dependent Katholikos made himself an independent Patriarch (p. 51).

⁴ Faustus, iii. 12 (*ed. cit.* i. 222-223).

rules of the Catholic Church (more immediately to Byzantine rules), which reform was later carried out completely by Sahak I (p. 408). He held a great reforming synod at Ashtishat (in 365 ?).¹ The king, Arshak III (341-367 ?), murdered one of his wives, Olympia, and led a life of gross immorality. So Nerses reproached him and refused to attend his court.² Arshak then set up the first schismatical anti-Katholikos, a certain Tshunak.³ But Arshak's defeat and death in the Persian war (367) soon made an end of this schism. Tshunak disappears with his master. Tiran's son Pap, who succeeded him, was a worse monster than his father. His whole life is a series of abominable crimes and unspeakable immorality. Faustus says he was possessed by Devs.⁴ It was this atrocious person who made the Armenian Church independent. He soon fell foul of the holy Katholikos, Nerses, and poisoned him.⁵ Then Pap began undoing Nerses' reform ; and the dying embers of paganism revived. The king himself appointed a new Katholikos, Yusik II. Caring nothing for church law, he had him ordained at home without regard for the rights of Cæsarea. Yusik was of the rival house of Albianos. St. Basil († 379), then Metropolitan of Cæsarea, was exceedingly indignant at this act, held a synod which denounced it, and wrote to this effect to the Armenian Church and to Pap.⁶ But the breach was never healed. From this time the Armenian Katholikos never again went to Cæsarea to be ordained. Pap tried to compromise with Cæsarea, and sent a certain Faustus⁷ there to be ordained. But Basil, finding that this man held with Pap and the schismatical party,⁸ would neither ordain him nor give him letters for any Cappadocian bishop. Faustus then went off to Anthimos of Tyana, Basil's personal enemy, and was ordained by him. Basil ex-

¹ Faustus, iv. 4 (*ed. cit.* i. 239).

² Faustus, iv. 15 (*i. p.* 252).

³ No Armenian bishops would ordain the intruder. He was ordained by two fugitive bishops without dioceses (Gelzer: *op. cit.* 155). This is the first attempt to set up a Katholikos independently of Cæsarea.

⁴ iv. 44 (*i. p.* 265).

⁵ Faustus, v. 25 (*i.* 290-291).

⁶ *Ib.* v. 29 (*i. p.* 293).

⁷ Not to be confused with the historian Faustus Byzantinus.

⁸ It appears that there was already a rightful bishop in the see to which the king wanted to intrude Faustus,

presses himself strongly on the subject.¹ There follow three Primates of the house of Albianos, which held with the Court party. Meanwhile at least a portion of the people, more Catholic in mind, remain loyal to the rights of Cæsarea and to the house of St. Gregory. As these would have no communion with Pap's primates, they sent their bishops for ordination to Cæsarea.² So there was internal schism in the land. Nerses' son, St. Sahak (Isaac) I (387-442 ?) made an end of this ; although, unhappily, he confirmed the breach with Cæsarea. The line of Arsacid kings came to an end with Manuel of Mamikon (378-385), when Theodosius divided the kingdom with Persia (p. 386). The Primacy came back to St. Gregory's house in Sahak. He was a great reformer, established strict discipline throughout the Armenian Church, put an end to episcopal marriages, set up monasteries, hospitals, etc., and founded a national literature. But he accepted and confirmed the practice of ordaining the Katholikos in Armenia, and so finally sealed the breach with the mother-Church. From now on Faustus and other writers consistently use the title Patriarch for the national Primate.³ Otherwise, Sahak's reform meant the acceptance of strict canon law on Byzantine lines. Monks now begin to abound, and curious attempts are made to explain away the marriage of earlier bishops.⁴ Especially important is the work of Sahak's friend and ally, the bishop St. Mesrob.⁵ Hitherto there had been no letters in which to write Armenian, so no Armenian literature. All their culture had been Greek from the West, or Syrian from the South. Both influences had been strong, that of Greece stronger, as the Armenian liturgy and later literature shows. Mesrob on the basis

¹ Ep. 120 (P.G. xxxii. 540) ; Ep. 121 (*ib.* 541) ; Ep. 122 (*ib.* 541). The *παπας* with whom Faustus held, who has puzzled St. Basil's editors (see Migne, *loc. cit.* note), is King Pap of Armenia.

² This seems to me to be the meaning of the difficult passage in Faustus, v., end of chap. 29 (Langlois, i. 293-294).

³ Gelzer: *op. cit.* 161.

⁴ *Ib.* 142. For an early example of apparent scandal at bishops' marriages see Faustus, iii. 5 (*ed. cit.* i. 213).

⁵ He is called Mesrob Mashtotz. There seems to be some doubt as to whether "Mashtotz" be a name or a title. See Kevork Arslan: *Études historiques sur le peuple arménien* (Paris, 1909), p. 212, n. 1. It looks rather like an attempt at a Syriac participle.

of the Greek alphabet composed Armenian letters.¹ Sahak and Mesrob, aided by a school of interpreters, then translated the Bible into Armenian and founded a literature which was to have a great future. The Armenian liturgy was formed (from the Byzantine rite, see p. 441) about this time.² So, just when Persia overran nearly all the country, Sahak and Mesrob supplied Armenians with a basis of national existence, a literary language and national rites. Mesrob's alphabet may stand as a symbol of the civilization and literature it expressed. It is not original. It is mostly Greek with a less prevailing Syriac influence. Just so is all Armenian culture.

After Nerses, in the 5th century, when Armenia was divided between the Roman Empire and Persia (p. 386), for a time there were rival Patriarchs, one in each part. Such a situation has been repeated constantly. Armenian Church history is full of rival Patriarchs, domestic schisms and disputed successions—faithful echo of the distracted state of the nation. Under the Persians were a number of martyrs, whose memory is kept by their Church.

Before we end this paragraph we may notice the further vicissitudes of the seat of the Katholikos-Patriarch. We have seen that in the first period he sat at Ashtishat in Tarōn (p. 403). After the breach with Cæsarea for a time they seem to have lived at the king's court at Valarshapat under Mount Ararat. It was then that the legend of this place arose. Valarshapat became Etshmiadzin, the scene of our Lord's direct commission to St. Gregory. So two purposes were served, the exaltation of that place and the idea of an independent Church founded, not from Cæsarea, but directly by Christ in Armenia (p. 399).³ But

¹ There are thirty-eight letters. Rufin, a Greek calligraphist, helped Mesrob to form them. Armenians praise them as singularly fit to express the sounds of their language. A foreigner may perhaps venture to say that many of them are too much like others to make Armenian easy to read. They are considerably changed from the Greek originals. Except O, P, Φ, there is hardly one a Greek would recognize. L has become our Latin L.

² Hitherto Armenians had used the Byzantine rite in Greek, and (in the south) that of Jerusalem or Antioch in Syriac.

³ This is really the same idea as that of the other legend of foundation by the Apostles St. Thaddæus and St. Bartholomew. They did not appre-

the Patriarchs did not remain at Etshmiadzin. From the 5th to the 7th centuries they are with the kings¹ at Duin or Tovin, not far off (south-east of Erivan). A number of synods were held here. In the 8th century Ani (south of Kars) became the civil and ecclesiastical centre of Armenia. But the Patriarch still wandered about, generally with the king or prince, according to the fortune of war. In the 11th century Cilician Armenia appears with its king and Patriarch at Sis (pp. 389, 415). From the 15th century till now Etshmiadzin has again been the usual residence of the Katholikos (pp. 417, 427).

At what moment shall we say that the Armenian Church went into schism? Her breach with Cæsarea was a violation of Church law, in itself a schismatical act. But it did not necessarily lead at once to schism. Schism is a breach of communion with the one Church of Christ. If, then, Cæsarea, in spite of the injury done to her, remained in communion with the Armenians, these must not yet be counted a schismatical sect.² It seems that till Armenia turned Monophysite this is what happened. The Metropolitan of Cæsarea had the right to excommunicate his rebellious children, but I do not find that he did so. He seems to have tolerated what he could not prevent, to have suffered the Armenians to ordain their own Primate without further protest, after that of St. Basil (p. 407). So we have at first autonomy³ without schism. Cæsarea by an act of undeserved grace allowed her communion to Armenia, and the rest of Christendom did not interfere between the mother and the disobedient daughter.

ciate that the story of an earlier apostolic foundation makes the legend of our Lord's commission to St. Gregory superfluous. Nor had they ever quite the courage to urge St. Gregory's story to its natural conclusion. One would expect him to be ordained by Christ himself at Etshmiadzin; but in all accounts he goes afterwards to Cæsarea to be ordained by Leontius.

¹ The Bagratuni line of kings under the Khalif.

² Since Cæsarea was, of course, in communion with Rome and the Catholic Church throughout the world.

³ Autonomy in the only possible Catholic sense, namely, independence of *Patriarchal* authority. A Catholic autonomous local Church remains, of course, always subject to the supreme authority of the Church of Christ herself, and to his Vicar at Rome. It can no more be independent of that than it can be independent of Christ. A parallel case of autonomy without schism is that of Cyprus after the Council of Ephesus (*Orth. Eastern Church*, 47-48).

Yet, by the wrongful act of a wicked king, the link which bound Armenian Christendom most clearly to the Church from which it had received the gospel, the bond which gave Armenia her right place in the orderly scheme of the universal hierarchy, was broken. Like the Persians when they broke with Edessa, the Armenians lost their moorings and sailed out unprotected into the storm of heresy and schism which was to wreck their Church.

5. Monophysite Armenia

The Church of Armenia in the 6th century turned Monophysite. There is not the slightest doubt on this subject ; the " Gregorian " Church is still Monophysite (p. 425). That she did not accept all Eutyches' theories, that she even anathematizes that heretic (p. 424), does not matter at all. As we have seen (p. 312), Monophysite Churches reject Eutyches. The test is the Council of Chalcedon ; Armenia formally rejected and still rejects that council. But of all Monophysite bodies the Armenian Church can best be excused for her acceptance of the heresy. She took no part in the great Monophysite controversy ; she did not at first make Monophysism her national cause, as did the Copts. She stood aloof from the whole quarrel, knew nothing of it till long after, and then took the wrong side by an unhappy mistake. The real tragedy is not so much her half-hearted acceptance of a subtle heresy, but, as usual, the formal schism into which she thereby fell.

When the Council of Chalcedon met in 451, ten Armenian bishops were present and signed its acts.¹ When they went home they must have told their colleagues what had happened. There was at first no remonstrance ; we may take it that at first, at least implicitly, Armenia accepted the council. But the people were prejudiced against it. In the first place, the country was then in the direst straits. It was being overrun by the Persians, who cruelly persecuted native Christians. The Armenians had little leisure to consider the question of our Lord's natures and person. Then the Romans had deserted them heart-

¹ Tournebize, p. 87.

lessly. The Emperor (Marcian, 450-457) had not brought them the help they hoped. They were embittered against him; Chalcedon was his work. Gradually their feeling against Chalcedon grew. From the Syrian Monophysites they heard of this new synod as having undone the work of Ephesus.¹ Armenia had taken her part with Ephesus; she approved warmly of that council. Was it not enough to stand by Ephesus? What was this new synod, which confused the issue, seemed to abandon Ephesus, to set up a fresh standard? Further, their language helped to strengthen their dislike of Chalcedon. For the two terms, nature (*φύσις*) and hypostasis, on which the whole question turns, they had only one word, *pnuthiun*.² A Greek might confess two natures in one hypostasis; but how could an Armenian speak of two *pnuthiuns*³ in Christ, without seeming to fall into Nestorianism? And then, as so often happens, this abstract question was crossed by a practical one of politics. Once more national feeling, loyalty to the cause of Armenia, their determination to be independent of a dangerous foreign power, did more than philosophical considerations to make Armenia Monophysite. They did not want to become Greeks. They meant to keep their nation independent of the empire. Chalcedon was the council of the Emperor; its decrees were the faith of the Greeks. Like the Copts and Jacobites, the Armenians would not become Melkites—Emperor's men. Oddly enough, the Persian persecutor who then dominated Armenia saw the political advantage to himself of such a schism, encouraged it, and the Armenians listened for once to their greatest enemy.

So the Armenian Church formally rejected the faith of Chalcedon and excommunicated all who held it. She adopted as her religion the faith of Dioscor, Severus and the Monophysites; she even introduced the famous Monophysite addition to the Trisagion (p. 190) so that her position should be clear. First the Katholikos Babken (490-515) in a Synod of Valarshapat (491) approved Zeno's Henotikon; then Nerses II (548-557) in a

¹ A Monophysite synod at Edessa in 482 condemned Chalcedon as contradicting Ephesus.

² Later they found a word for *φύσις*—*euthiun* or *koiuthiun* (Tournèbize, p. 555, n. 5).

³ *Pnuthiunkh* is the plural form.

Synod of Tovin (Duin), apparently in 554,¹ clinched the matter. This is what a collection of Armenian canons says of it: "The Patriarch Nerses summoned at Tovin a synod against the Council of Chalcedon, because the error of two natures in Jesus Christ was making terrible progress. He decreed that we must believe in the unity of the nature of Jesus Christ; he united in one feast Christmas and the Baptism of Jesus Christ² as a sign of the uniting of the two natures in one only, without distinction; and he added to the Trisagion these words: 'who wast crucified for us,' in order to protest against the distinction of two natures."³ So the Armenian national Church took her side definitely against Chalcedon. She has wavered several times. In order to gain protection from the Byzantines, and still more when she was closely allied with the Latin Crusaders (namely, the Cilician kingdom of Armenia, pp. 389, 415), she has at intervals retracted her heresy. But she always came back to it. It was the national faith; she still stands by the Synod of Tovin and rejects Chalcedon. One immediate result shows again plainly her position. Hitherto Armenia had herself two daughter-Churches—Iberia and Caspian Albania.⁴ They say that St. Gregory the Illuminator had sent bishops to convert these parts. At any rate, till the fifth century the Churches of Iberia (Georgia) and Albania depended on the Armenian Katholikos, as he had depended on the Metropolitan of Cæsarea. The Iberian Primate was also a Katholikos, for the same reason as his Armenian brother and chief (p. 405). The Armenians dragged Albania into heresy with them. But the Georgian Katholikos, Kyrion, accepted Chalcedon. So Abraham I, the Armenian Primate (607–615), summoned a synod, as usual at his residence Tovin, and

¹ There is a difficulty about the dates. Tournebiz gives three synods: Valarshapat under Babken in 491, Tovin I under Nerses "about 527 (?)," Tovin II under Moses II in 551; and he explains that the Armenian tradition has confused Tovin I and Tovin II (*op. cit.* 90–91). Ormanian (28–29) gives Tovin I under Babken in 506, Tovin II under Nerses II in 554.

² This is an error. The Armenian Church never had a special Christmas (p. 437).

³ Quoted by Tournebiz: *op. cit.* 90–91.

⁴ This is Albania in the Caucasus, a little land between Georgia and the Caspian Sea, not, of course, the better known Albania in the west of the Balkan Peninsula.

excommunicated him (609).¹ That broke all connection between Armenia and Georgia. The Georgian Church remained Orthodox.² Under Heraclius (610-641) occurred the first of the temporary reunions of the Armenians. He drove the Persians from their land, was their benefactor and protector, and invited them to come back to the great Church, Catholic and Orthodox. In a synod at Erzerum (c. 629) ³ their Katholikos with his clergy did so. But there was already a firm Monophysite party in Armenia. After the Saracen conquest (p. 386) the Church relapsed into what had become her national faith. A synod at Tovin in 645, after the Romans had left the land, again denounced Chalcedon.

The Church, now in schism, naturally had no longer any dependence on Cæsarea or on any other Chalcedonian see. She became autocephalous in the strictest sense, out of communion with every other religious body. The Armenians did not even establish formal intercommunion with their fellow-Monophysites ⁴ in Egypt and Syria.⁵

6. The Five Armenian Patriarchs

The later history of the Armenian Church is mainly one long story of simony, quarrels, schisms and rival Patriarchs. It is a dull and dispiriting history into which we need not go in detail.⁶ There would be little of general interest to a Western reader in these quarrels. In general we may say that, besides the endless rivalries of usurping Patriarchs, there are continually tentative efforts at reunion, made by both Orthodox and Catholics,⁷ never

¹ Ormanian, p. 32. Tournèize gives the date 596 (p. 92).

² *Orth. Eastern Church*, 304-305.

³ Tournèize: *op. cit.* p. 95.

⁴ There is some theological difference between the Monophysism of Armenia and that of the Copts and Jacobites (see p. 425).

⁵ This is a difficult and rather subtle question; see p. 432.

⁶ Accounts of the succession of quarrels will be found in Ormanian (who naturally always makes the best of them), and Tournèize, *op. cit.* Simony is a special offence during all this time. The Patriarchate for long intervals was regularly bought for money; Ormanian, p. 56.

⁷ As a result of such temporary partial reconciliations some Armenian bishops were present at the fifth, sixth, and seventh General Councils (Constantinople II in 553, Constantinople III in 680, Nicæa II in 787). Some of their writers claim that these synods are acknowledged by the

with a permanent result, till we come to the first Uniates (roughly since the 13th century).¹ We must remember above all that the Armenian people kept the Christian faith, although in a schismatical Church, during all the centuries of their oppression by Moslems.

But a word must be said about the schisms among themselves which have left a result till now. The Katholikos-Patriarch still had no fixed residence (p. 403). He wandered about with the court as the capital changed. We saw him at Ani (p. 410). The Moslems ruined that city in the 10th century. There were then various Armenian princes who kept by force of arms their independence (p. 387). One of these was the prince (or king) of Van, who had made himself a small kingdom around Lake Van. The Katholikos Hovhannes (John) V (899-931) came to his court and established himself on an island in the lake called Aghthamar. Here were a church and monastery where Hovhannes and three successors resided. Then came the usual schism. Ananias (943-967) left Aghthamar and went and placed himself under the protection of another small king of Ani. He lived near Ani at Arkina. His successor, Vahan I (967-969), was supposed to have Chalcedonian tendencies; so the bishops of Van deposed him and set up Stephen III (969-971) at Aghthamar. Each king (of Van and Ani) supported his own candidate. Eventually union was restored under Katshik I (971-992). When the kingdom of Cilician Armenia was founded (p. 388) the Katholikos went to reside at its capital Sis. Fifteen Patriarchs lived here, from 1294 to 1441. During this time reunion with Rome was brought about. We have seen that the kings of Cilician Armenia were exceedingly friendly with the Crusaders and submitted to strong Latin influence (p. 389). They, the Patriarchs and clergy, after some negotiations, came back to the communion of the Catholic Church.² For a time the Armenian Church officially was Uniate. The fact is symbolized by the crowning of King Leo II by the

Gregorian Church (*Armenian Liturgy*, by two priests, Cope and Fenwick, 1908, p. ix). But the constant teaching of their Church and of their chief theologians is that only the first three general councils are really authentic (*e.g.* Ormanian: *op. cit.* 78).

¹ Of whom in our next volume.

² This will be described in detail in our next volume.

Armenian Katholikos and a Latin Cardinal together (p. 389). From this time dates the considerable Latinization of the national Church. Even after the union was broken, many traces of Latin influence, notably in rites, remain in the Gregorian Church.¹ Meanwhile, among the Armenians of the old country, who were not subject to the kings of Cilician Armenia, there was still strong feeling against abandoning their traditional Monophysism. So some of them renew the old claim of Aghthamar and set up a rival Patriarch there. In 1439 Gregory IX was elected, apparently quite regularly, at Sis. But he was a Uniate; so again the schismatics of Old Armenia set up a rival, not this time at Aghthamar.

We have already mentioned Etshmiadzin (p. 398). Although the legend that St. Gregory the Illuminator lived there is not true, it is one of the oldest and most venerable Armenian sanctuaries. It is situated near Ani, where the Katholikos had once reigned, and near Mount Ararat where Armenian devotion sees the place of Noah's Ark and the second cradle of our race.² So here, at Etshmiadzin, the schismatical bishops elected and consecrated Kirakos (Kyriakos) I (of Virap, 1441-1443) as Katholikos-Patriarch. There were now three sees claiming the Patriarchate—Sis, Aghthamar, and Etshmiadzin. It seems clear that Sis had the legitimate succession. The old line, hitherto acknowledged by all, comes straight down to Gregory IX at Sis. Both the other claimants were schismatical pretenders. But Sis was Uniate. Had the union lasted, the line of Sis would apparently have maintained itself, and those of Aghthamar and Etshmiadzin would have come to the usual speedy end of Armenian schisms. The union did not last; the schismatics rallied round Etshmiadzin and eventually that line won. Now occurs a new factor. The Katholikos kept a real or supposed relic of the Illuminator, his right arm, called the holy Atsh.³ This was and still is used at his ordination. It is laid on his head as a kind of supplementary imposition of hands. In the complicated rivalries

¹ See p. 441.

² Or even the first cradle. For one of the places where the Garden of Eden is supposed to have been is by Ararat; Armenians believe this firmly (Ter. Gregor: *History of Armenia*, 14-15).

³ *Atsh* means "right arm."

of alleged Patriarchs, the possession of this relic (and its use in ordination) was supposed to be the sign of legitimate succession. There was one alleged holy Atsh at Sis. At Etshmiadzin they had what they claimed to be the true holy Atsh. When Kirakos of Etshmiadzin, despairing of the state of his Church, resigned in 1443, his party elected and ordained Gregory X to succeed him (1443-1466). But Zachary of Aghthamar was ordained Patriarch by his friends; he took possession of Etshmiadzin itself in 1461. Then, when he was turned out by Gregory X in 1462, he went off to Aghthamar, taking the holy Atsh with him and maintaining his claim. The relic was not brought back to Etshmiadzin, till it was stolen in 1477 by partisans of the line of Gregory X. Then the kingdom of Cilician Armenia fell to pieces (p. 389), the influence of the Crusaders was over, and all Armenians returned to schism. The Patriarch at Etshmiadzin, partly through the sanctity of his monastery,¹ partly through that of his recovered and now universally admitted holy Atsh, secured the allegiance of all the Church. His line still resides there; by dint of ignoring schisms and making a straight-looking succession they trace their line from St. Gregory, nay from St. Thaddæus and St. Bartholomew the apostles.² Etshmiadzin, the national sanctuary, has been enriched with many legends, tending to show not only that it was the home of St. Gregory, but that it had always been, at least in principle, the seat of the Katholikos. The lines of Sis and Aghthamar acknowledged the supremacy of Etshmiadzin, but, as a bribe to make them do so, they too were allowed to keep the title Patriarch. Sis became an inferior Patriarchate,³ under Etshmiadzin, but having considerable metropolitical jurisdiction; Aghthamar remained a merely titular Patriarchate (p. 430).

The Armenians then became used to the idea of other Patriarchs under the supreme Katholikos-Patriarch. Once that is admitted it does not much matter how many there are. As a matter of fact two more were formed. Since 1307 they had a

¹ For the legends about St. Gregory at Etshmiadzin were, naturally, accepted.

² This line of Patriarchs is given in Ormanian (*op. cit.* 171-180) with dates.

³ It was not finally reconciled till 1651.

bishop at Constantinople for their colony there. When Mohammed the Conqueror took the city (1459), according to the rather stupid Turkish idea of uniformity he wanted to organize the subject Armenian "nation" on the same lines as the "Roman nation" (the Orthodox). These had as supreme civil head¹ in Turkey a Patriarch of Constantinople; so the Conqueror organized the Armenians on just the same lines. He meant them to have a responsible chief at the capital, so he ignored the Katholikos in a distant monastery, and made the Armenian Bishop of Constantinople, Hovakim (Joachim, formerly of Brusa), Patriarch in 1461, gave him civil authority over all Armenians in the Turkish Empire and the sole right of representing them before the Government.² The Church acquiesced in this. Since then there has been an Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, second to the Katholikos in rank, acknowledging a theoretic supremacy in him, but practically the most powerful member of the Armenian hierarchy. The origin of their Patriarchate of Jerusalem is even more unwarranted. They had a bishop there, as have most Eastern Churches. In the middle of the 18th century the Katholikos seems to have allowed this bishop to bless the holy chrism. Encouraged by this, seeing himself in a Patriarchal city, knowing too that his brother at Constantinople had obtained the title and that it was becoming very cheap, the Armenian Bishop of Jerusalem declared himself a Patriarch too, and began to ordain bishops. The Katholikos stopped this; but he kept the title. So it came about that the Armenian Church has five Patriarchs—the Katholikos at Etshmiadzin and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Sis, Aghthamar,³ and Jerusalem.

We may note here that as the Armenians wandered throughout Europe and Asia (p. 387) the Katholikos began to ordain bishops

¹ *Orth. Eastern Church*, 238–240.

² Till the 19th century the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople had these same civil rights over all Monophysites in the empire. Copts and Jacobites could approach the Porte only through him. Now the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch is the acknowledged civil head of his "nation," and the Copts have nothing more to do with the Porte. Indeed, the latest developments (the constitution of 1908) are abolishing the whole principle of separate "nations" with civil heads.

³ Those of Sis and Aghthamar are now also called "Katholikos."

for their colonies in all parts. Katshik I (971-992, p. 415) is said to be the first who did so.¹

7. The Nineteenth Century

The last century brought great changes to the Armenian Church. Hitherto she had languished obscurely under the Turk. Now came two events which affected her profoundly—intercourse with the West involving the spread of European ideas and the arrival of Protestant missionaries, and, even more, the Russian conquest of Transcaucasus in 1829.

The general interest in the ancient Eastern Churches aroused in Europe in the 19th century turned to the Armenians too. Already the Uniates, notably the Mekhitarist monks at Venice,² had a printing press and had begun to disseminate Armenian books. Now the Protestants took up the cause. Armenians began to come to European schools, Europeans began to visit and write about Armenia. Then, inevitably, came Protestant missionaries, with their crude attempts to improve a Church which had kept immeasurably more of historic Christianity than their own sects. First the British and Foreign Bible Society distributed Bibles in the vulgar tongue. Then both Anglicans and American Presbyterians formed Armenian Protestant sects. The Americans have done much the most work. Their mission began in 1831. At first, as usual, they disclaimed any idea of proselytizing. They only wanted to teach, exhort and spiritualize the Armenians, victims of too superstitious a doctrine. All Protestant missions in the Levant begin like that. Of course their teaching was hopelessly opposed to that of the clergy. Already in 1839 they came into conflict with the hierarchy. In 1844 the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople very properly excommunicated all who attend their services. Since then the Presbyterians have broken all pretence of regarding the Armenian Church. They make converts frankly wherever they can. They have built up a considerable Protestant Armenian sect, with stations and chapels all over the Levant. This sect forms a fairly

¹ Ormanian : *op. cit.* 39.

² This, too, belongs to the next volume.

large minority; they are said to number nearly forty-six thousand in the Turkish Empire.¹ The Anglicans have formed a small sect around Aintab. It had a schismatical bishop named Meguerditsh, who was admitted to inter-communion by the Anglican-Lutheran bishop in Jerusalem, Samuel Gobat, in 1865. They have a mutilated version of the Book of Common Prayer in Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian letters). Meguerditsh died in 1904 and left only a priest and a deacon to carry on his sect.² There is also a small group of Armenians at Egin on the upper Euphrates who are Orthodox.³

A greater event to Armenians was the Russian-Turkish War of 1828. In this story the Russian Government behaved as it always does. Until the Armenians were in its power it made all kinds of fair promises; when it got them it persecuted them. Russia was anxious to get them to help her against Turkey. So she promised everything. If only she could conquer Transcaucasus, the Armenians would be under a Christian Emperor, under the great protector of all Eastern Christians. It is the old myth of the Czar-liberator, believed with childlike confidence, till he does liberate. The Czar Nicholas I (1825-1855) in the "Polojenye" law of 1836⁴ made the most definite promises of toleration, non-interference in their Church, which he shamelessly broke later. The Armenians, loathing the Turkish tyrant, guilelessly believed him. They thought a Christian Czar, even if a Chalcedonian, would treat them at least better than the Moslem. So they rose for Russia in 1828-1829 and rejoiced when the Peace of 1829 gave their new friends the greater part of Transcaucasia (p. 390). They were mistaken. By this conquest Russia obtained not only a large Armenian population but the holy place Etshmiadzin, the seat of the Katholikos. It is true the Russian

¹ So Petermann-Gelzer in the *Prot. Realencyklopädie* (1897), ii. 90. Many Armenians study at the American Protestant (Congregationalist) Robert College, founded in 1863, on the Bosphorus, at Rumili Hisar.

² An account of these "Anglican Armenians" by the Anglican chaplain at Beirut (the Rev. J. T. Parfit), will be found in Archdeacon Dowling: *The Armenian Church* (S.P.C.K., 1910), pp. 144-148.

³ Dowling: *op. cit.* p. 18.

⁴ See H. F. B. Lynch: *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (2 vols., Longmans, 1901), i. 229, *seq.*

does not massacre ; but as far as the state of the Armenian Church goes he is worse than the Turk. For the Turk, even when he massacres, lets the internal ecclesiastical affairs of Christians alone. The Russian interferes with these. Even in the law of 1836 the Czar showed his usual Erastianism over a Church with which he is not in communion. His consent is necessary before the Katholikos is appointed, and he makes the Armenians wait regularly one year between the appointment and ordination.¹ The Orthodox Government interferes in all Armenian ecclesiastical affairs. It controls their property and annoys them in every kind of way. No one may be converted to the Armenian Church.² On the whole the Katholikos would prefer the Turk. Two results follow from this. First, it has finally put off reunion between the Armenians and the Orthodox. Otherwise this would be the most probable reunion in Christendom. Armenians and Orthodox are very near in faith and were quite friendly. They might easily have amalgamated. But now there is nothing the Armenians in Russia (nearly half their Church) dread so much. If they turned Orthodox they know well that their fate would be that of Georgia. Russian bishops would be sent to govern them ; there would be no Armenian Church and no Armenia. The stupid bullying of Russia makes Armenians cling to their Monophysism as the one principle which preserves their nation.³ The other result is the practical extinction of the authority of the Katholikos over a great part of his Church. He

¹ This is apparently to give the Russian Government an opportunity of worrying them while the see is vacant. Meanwhile the Russian Procurator rules the Armenian Church.

² For the details of this persecution of Armenians by the Russian Government see articles in the *Échos d'Orient*, vii. (1904) 5, 129, 176 ; xiii. (1910) 35, 94. The most preposterous point is that the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod has the right of supervising all Armenian publications, in order to prevent anything being printed against the faith of the Armenian Church ! For Russian interference in the election of the Katholikos see p. 428, below.

³ The idea that their Monophysism preserves their independence is a favourite one with Armenians : " Had the Armenian Church recognized the Council of Chalcedon, her free Apostolic Patriarchal See would have been lost and her independence would have been subjected to the authority of the Greek Church." Authorised Catechism quoted by Dowling : *The Armenian Church*, p. 105.

rules Armenians in Russia. But to those in Turkey he is too much the creature of the Russian Government to count. Their Patriarch of Constantinople is their chief, really independent, in spite of his theoretic subordination to the Katholikos.

Summary

The Armenian Church, in spite of the fact that there were Christians in the country earlier, in spite of her alleged foundation by St. Thaddæus and St. Bartholomew, was founded really by St. Gregory the Illuminator in the 3rd and 4th centuries. He was ordained at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, as were his early successors. Armenia was a missionary Church dependent on Cæsarea, in the Patriarchate of Antioch. After the Council of Chalcedon (451) the national Church, mainly through unfortunate misunderstandings, rejected that Council and adopted Monophysism as her creed. This occurred under the Katholikos Nerses II at a Synod of Tovin about 554. Since then the national Armenian Church has been in schism with all the rest of Christendom. Her Katholikos became independent and called himself a Patriarch. The Church, like the nation, has been torn between different powers, riddled with quarrels and schisms. The Persians and Romans fought over Armenia; Persia especially was long a cruel tyrant. There are many Armenian martyrs. Then the Moslems took and held the land. From the 11th to the 14th centuries an Armenian colony in Cilicia maintained a separate kingdom, with Sis as its capital. This kingdom was on good terms with the Crusaders, it was considerably Latinized (which influence is still seen in the Armenian Church), and was Uniate. The union came to an end with the kingdom. After that the Katholikos-Patriarch established himself at Etshmiadzin. But in reconciling schisms he had to admit two other sees, Sis and Aghthamar, as secondary Patriarchs. The Turks set up an Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople; the Bishop of Jerusalem made himself one. In the 19th century Protestant missionaries formed Protestant Armenian sects, and Russia by conquering Transcaucasus got Etshmiadzin in her power. She has treated the Armenians very badly, and the Katholikos, too much under

Russian authority, now has little real power outside Russia. In Turkey their Patriarch of Constantinople governs the Church. Lastly, the Armenian massacres of 1890, 1893, 1895-1896, and 1909, have made the very name of this unhappy people suggest horrors.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH TO-DAY

THE Gregorian (Monophysite) Church of Armenia is as near an approach to a national Church as exists (except perhaps that of Abyssinia). A perfect national Church would include all and only the people of one nation. The Armenian Church is only for Armenians. It would not, I think, be possible for a foreigner to join it. It includes at any rate the greater part of the nation. Not all, because the Uniates and Protestants form important minorities. But if you meet an Armenian, whether in Calcutta or Manchester, he is most likely to belong to the Gregorian Church and to abhor the Council of Chalcedon ; not that he understands anything about what that Council defined, but because he is an Armenian. Undoubtedly the national Church is the main factor which preserves and holds together this people. What they really care about is not a metaphysical concept of our Lord's person, but the Armenian rite in the Armenian language by an Armenian priest, which to them in foreign lands is a precious inheritance from the wooded mountains where the sons of Haik were once free and happy under the shadow of Noah's Ararat.

I. The Armenian Faith

Armenians resent being called Eutychians, and with reason. They deny the special heresies of Eutyches (pp. 167-169) ; every Armenian bishop at his ordination denounces him by name.¹ But they are heretics, namely Monophysites. They deny what

¹ Ormanian, p. 83.

was defined at Chalcedon, and insist on the first three Councils only.¹ They have adopted as their official dogma the classical Monophysite phrase that our Lord has one nature out of two. He is "one hypostasis, one person, one united nature (after the union)."² But there is, or was, some difference between their Monophysism and that of the Copts and Jacobites. The Copts and Jacobites are Severians, accepting the view of Severus of Antioch that our Lord's body is corruptible (*φθαρτόν*). The Armenians adopted the extremer view of Julian of Halicarnassus that it is incorruptible (*ἀφθαρτόν*, see p. 207). It is then usual to call them Julianist Monophysites. May be that this difference had something to do with the fact that they could never unite with the others. But there seems very little trace of Julianism in their formulas now. On the contrary, except for the expression "one nature" and their rejection of Chalcedon, there is nothing, on this point, to which we could object.³ Their creeds insist on the fact that Christ is really man, born truly of his mother, having a real body and soul.⁴ Their fault (or misfortune) is at bottom only their denial of Chalcedon and the schism thereby produced. As creeds they use that of Nicæa-Constantinople in a slightly variant form, but correct;⁵ another attributed to Saint

¹ Lord Malachy Ormanian is very proud of this. He thinks that in these days of little faith the less you ask people to believe the better. Now the Orthodox insist on seven Councils, Catholics on twenty, but Armenians on only three. This is a heavy score for them. And he thinks that their three are admitted universally (*op. cit.* 78-80). He is mistaken. A child could tell him that Nestorians reject Ephesus just as firmly as Monophysites reject Chalcedon. On his principle Nestorians are still better off, since they insist on two Councils only; a Pneumatomachian is still happier, for he has only one. And an Arian is most to be envied of all, for he admits none. To claim an advantage in easiness of faith by the mechanical process of inverse proportion to the Councils you acknowledge is a child's way of proceeding, only to be found in an Oriental.

² In the creed they profess at ordination, quoted by Tournebize : *op. cit.* 568. Cf. Ormanian, p. 83.

³ The case for Armenian "orthodoxy" has often been made by their Anglican friends. Dowling (*op. cit.* 60-64) does what he can to exonerate them. He quotes several correct sayings by Armenians; but nothing can get over the fact that their Church formally rejects the definition of Chalcedon.

⁴ See Tournebize, p. 557.

⁵ In Tournebize, Armenian and French, 553-555.

Athanasius¹ and a symbol read at ordinations, which contains the Monophysite form quoted above (p. 425). This was apparently composed about the 14th century.² In all other points we shall understand their position best by conceiving it as practically that of the Orthodox. They have never officially rejected the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son ; some of their hymns seem even to imply it. But now they have learned to protest against our addition to the creed.³ They sing the Monophysite addition to the Trisagion (p. 190). They once had seven Sacraments ; now they do not administer Extreme Unction. Tournebize brings clear contemporary evidence that they used this Sacrament down to the 14th century. They did so by seven priests, just as do the Orthodox.⁴ Their catechisms still give exactly our list of seven Sacraments, including "Anointing the sick."⁵ They believe in the Real Presence, and not only define it as transubstantiation, but have used exact Armenian equivalents of *μετουσίωσις*.⁶ They are quite definite that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, but believe that the Invocation of the Holy Ghost consecrates.⁷ They believe in the Sacrament of Penance and use it, but not very often. It is considered obligatory before great feasts (p. 440).⁸ They have unbounded devotion to "the all holy Mother of God, the ever virgin Mary,"⁹ and the other saints. They invoke these,¹⁰ and keep pictures of them in churches, which are blessed with chrism.¹¹ They have no statues. They treat relics of saints with great reverence and expose them on their altars at feasts.¹² They have innumerable prayers for the dead,¹³ and keep a number of days as All Souls (p. 438).

¹ Not our "Athanasian Creed," Tournebize, 555-561. It is also quite correct.

² *Ib.* 565-569.

³ *Ib.* 571-572.

⁴ *Ib.* 587-588.

⁵ *Instruction in the Christian Faith*, translated by S. C. Malan (Rivingtons, 1869), p. 19.

⁶ Tournebize, pp. 580-581.

⁷ *Ib.* 583-584.

⁸ *Ib.* 586.

⁹ So in their liturgy ; Brightman : *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 445. Our Lady's feasts are even counted among those "of the Lord" (p. 437).

¹⁰ *E.g.* in the preparatory prayers of the liturgy ; *ib.* 415.

¹¹ Ormanian : *op. cit.* 84. Tournebize says that the use of holy pictures in Armenian churches is becoming rarer (*op. cit.* p. 632). On the other hand, churches I have seen (for instance, their great cathedral of St. James at Jerusalem) are crowded with pictures.

¹² Tournebize, pp. 629-630.

¹³ *E.g.* Brightman, p. 443.

They believe in an intermediate state in which souls are helped by our prayers (exactly our Purgatory), yet now they pretend that they do not believe in Purgatory.¹ They call the Blessed Virgin "immaculate," "very pure and without stain," "without corruption,"² and they keep the feast of her Conception on December 9. But they will not admit that they accept the Immaculate Conception.

Naturally they deny the Pope's universal jurisdiction and the definition of the Vatican Council (1870).³ They acknowledge him as Patriarch of the West and first of all Christian bishops. They, alone of Eastern Churches, seem to have evolved a kind of branch theory which includes, apparently, all Christians of any sect.⁴ And, at least, some of their theologians have a theory which distinguishes necessary "dogmas" from true but not necessary "doctrines" in a curious way.⁵

2. The Hierarchy

By a polite convention of the usual kind, which, of course, concedes nothing really, we call the Monophysite Church of Armenia "Gregorian," after the Illuminator,⁶ although he was without any question a Catholic in union with Rome (p. 404). They need a special name to distinguish them from Catholic Armenians and Protestant Armenians. Over this Church rules as Primate the Supreme Katholikos at Etshmiadzin. He has real jurisdiction in his own patriarchate, which contains five

¹ Ormanian, p. 84. It is the same perverseness as with the Orthodox (*Orth. Eastern Church*, pp. 388-390).

² See the quotations in Tournebize, 628-629.

³ They talk great nonsense about what was defined in 1870 (Ormanian, p. 77).

⁴ Or rather some of their theologians have (*e.g.* Ormanian, p. 86). The Armenian Church officially says nothing about this, but condemns all who teach two natures in Christ as heretics; which leaves only Monophysites.

⁵ Ormanian, pp. 76-77.

⁶ Lord Malachy Ormanian does not like this name, and wants us to use "Ughapar" (which is Armenian for "Orthodox") as its name—"église oughapar arménienne" (pp. 120-121). There is no pleasing some people. We let them have the glorious name of a Catholic apostle, who knew nothing of their wretched schism, and still they are not satisfied. "Ughapar" is absurd. We cannot make European languages into a kind of Esperanto; "Orthodox" is already in use for another church.

archiepiscopal sees, nine bishops' sees, one abbey "nullius," and three districts under vardapets (p. 431) in Russia, also two archbishoprics (Ispahan and Tabriz), and two vardapets' districts (Teheran and Hamadan) in Persia, bishoprics of Calcutta, "Europe," "America," a vardapet's district for Java, and one at Suczava (for Hungary and Bukovina).¹ Outside this patriarchate, notably in Turkey, he seems to exercise little real authority (p. 422). But a concerted action of the whole Armenian Church, a national synod or such like, could only be undertaken by him. The title of this venerable Pontiff is, "the Servant of God N.N., Supreme Patriarch² and Katholikos of all the Armenians." Formerly he was elected freely by his synod of auxiliary bishops. Since 1878 the Russian Government has forced on the Armenians a new system, by which a body consisting of the synod, the monks of Etshmiadzin, one priest, and one layman from each Armenian see in Russia, Turkey and Persia elect two candidates, of whom the Czar appoints one.³ The Katholikos is always already a bishop. Nevertheless, he is solemnly ordained Katholikos⁴ in a service in which the holy Atsh (p. 416) is laid upon his head; there is also a real imposition of hands and anointing with chrism by twelve bishops. His Holiness lives in the large and splendid monastery at Etshmiadzin;⁵ he is assisted by a synod of seven auxiliary bishops,⁶ and by many committees and secre-

¹ See the complete list in Ormanian, 187-189.

² "Patriarch" in Armenian is "Hayrapet." They call him familiarly "Hayrik (little father)."

³ Silbernagl: *Verfassung*, u.s.w. 218-219.

⁴ But see p. 440, n. 4. Ormanian is rather proud of this astonishing reordination (*op. cit.* 131).

⁵ An exact description of the four churches and many other buildings at Etshmiadzin will be found in Lynch: *Armenia*, i. 229-276. The churches are: 1, the Cathedral (see fig. and plan, pp. 429 and 433). Its central altar marks the place where the Only-begotten struck the earth with a golden hammer (p. 398). 2, St. Hripsime (see frontispiece); 3, St. Gaiane; 4, Shoghakath ("Effusion of Light").

⁶ The Russian Government names these and keeps a spy at Etshmiadzin to control what they do. The Patriarch cannot do anything to the members of his synod without the Czar's consent. All synodical acts must begin: "By order of the Czar" (Lynch, *loc. cit.*). The old rule was that the Katholikos had twelve bishops around him (see p. 402, and Faustus, vi. 5, in Langlois, i. 308). Gelzer says there are now only five (*Die Anfänge*, u.s.w. 146); Lynch says seven (*loc. cit.*).

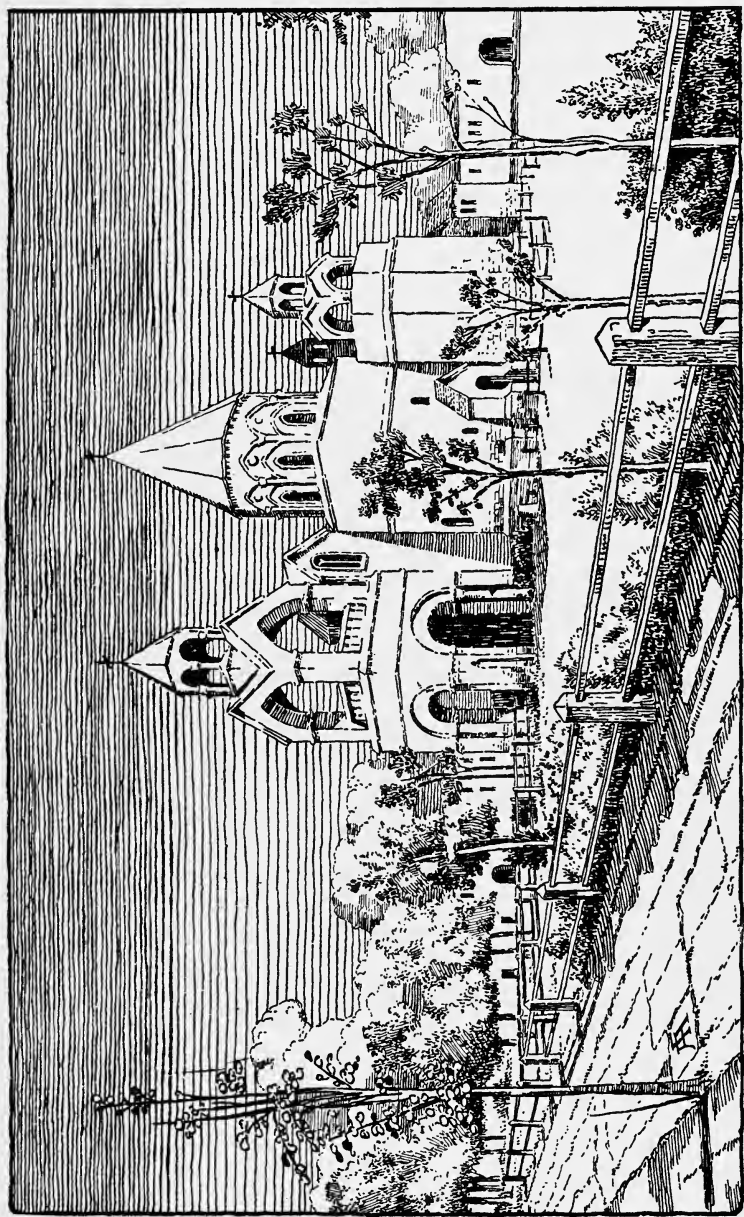


FIG. 15.—THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH AT ETSHMIADZIN.

taries.¹ Over his vestments (p. 436) he wears a diamond pectoral cross given to him by the Czar. He would gladly give up this ornament to be free. His income amounts to about £8000 a year. The present Katholikos of all the Armenians is Lord Matthew II (Izmirlian), formerly Patriarch of Constantinople, who succeeded in 1909.²

The Patriarchs of Sis and Aghthamar (elected by local assemblies, half clerical, half lay) are also called Katholikos. By a curious modification of idea the Armenians now look upon this title as meaning something more than a mere Patriarch. Originally it meant very much less. These two and the Supreme Patriarch alone may bless the holy chrism and ordain bishops. At Sis reigns "The Servant of God, Patriarch and Katholikos of Lesser Armenia and of the Armenians in Cilicia, Syria and Palestine,³ minister of the right hand and throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator." Under him are two archbishoprics, ten bishoprics, and two abbacies "nullius," all in Asia Minor and North Syria.⁴ The Katholikos of Aghthamar is really only a titular Patriarch.⁵ He has one bishopric near Lake Van under him. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem (both elected by the National Assembly at Constantinople, chiefly lay) do not bear the title Katholikos; they must ask the Supreme Katholikos for the holy chrism, and send bishops they appoint to him for ordination. In spite of that, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople is the second greatest prelate in his Church. He rules eleven archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, one vardapet's district and six abbacies in the Turkish Empire, archiepiscopal sees of Egypt, Bulgaria and Rumania, vardapets' districts of Greece and Cyprus.⁶ The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem lives at the great monastery of St. James (Srbotz Hakobiantz), which

¹ At Etshmiadzin they have a printing-press, a theological college (founded in 1873), a library, and a large hospice for pilgrims. Certain rich Armenian merchants are giving considerable sums of money to rebuild the monastery and palace of the Katholikos.

² An account of his consecration as Katholikos from the *Times* is reprinted in Archdeacon Dowling: *The Armenian Church*, p. 36.

³ Mere title. Jerusalem is over Palestine (p. 431).

⁴ Ormanian, 186-187.

⁵ Except that he for his little district may bless chrism and ordain.

⁶ Ormanian: *op. cit.* 181-185.

is the centre of their colony there. He has no suffragan bishops, but three vardapets' districts—Jaffa, Damascus, Beirut.¹ The Armenians have altars and rights in the Holy Sepulchre, at Bethlehem, and so on.

The difference between an archbishop and a bishop is merely titular. They have no metropolitan provinces under the Patriarchs. All bishops must be celibate.² In Turkey they are elected by the diocesan assemblies, composed of more laymen than clergy. The Russians will not allow this ;³ there the Czar appoints one or two candidates presented by the Katholikos. There are two orders of priests, as in all Eastern Churches—celibate monastic priests, and secular priests who marry once (apparently they must marry) before ordination. The monastic priests form the higher order. They only may become vardapets. The Armenian *Vardapet* puzzles people. Writers constantly repeat that it corresponds to a Doctor of Theology :⁴ really it is something totally different. It is a rank in the hierarchy, conferred on a (celibate) priest by what looks exactly like a new ordination ; it confers new ecclesiastical rights and duties.⁵ Before being ordained vardapet a priest must pass an ordination examination ; he receives a special delegation to preach and a pastoral staff.⁶ He alone can aspire to bishoprics and higher offices.⁷ Sometimes a vardapet is made head of a quasi-diocesan district (as above p. 428). He then has episcopal jurisdiction (like our vicars apostolic, who are not bishops), and he is called *Aratshnord* (prelate). There are many monasteries, recruiting grounds for

¹ Ormanian : *op. cit.* 185.

² We saw that once Armenian bishops were married. The celibacy of the higher clergy became a law in Sahak I's reform (p. 408).

³ The Russian Government does not like elections, rights of majorities, and so on. They prevent all popular and lay influence in the Armenian Church in Russia.

⁴ So Ormanian, 109-110.

⁵ A doctorate of theology is merely a testimonial of proficiency given by any university which has a theological faculty to anyone. It is not an ecclesiastical rank at all. A layman may take it.

⁶ Hence the confusion with a Doctor (who by his title would be supposed to teach). Other priests do actually preach now, by a kind of concession ; but they have no staff.

⁷ There are a higher and a lower class of vardapets.

vardapets. Only the monastic clergy now have deacons.¹ The married secular clergy are poor folk, having little training and no hope of advancement. The priesthood often descends from father to son through many generations.² Except in Russia (where the Government will not allow it) the laity has great influence in Church matters, and forms councils to administer Church property. Of three to four million Armenians, perhaps three-quarters belong to the Gregorian Church. She is not strictly in communion with even the other Monophysite Churches, and never has been.³ But the relations between them are friendly, and Armenians are careless about giving and receiving Communion from other people.⁴

3. Churches and Vestments

An Armenian Church has a marked character, both inside and outside, by which it may easily be distinguished from any other. It generally has a dome in the centre,⁵ which is not a dome outside, but a low round tower with a conical roof. In front of the larger churches is an atrium, an open court, around which are the priests' lodgings, the school, rooms for parochial business, and so on. Inside there is no ikonostasion. Perhaps it is more exact to say that the altar stands in front of the ikonostasion. Across the far east end there is a high screen, sometimes covered

¹ Ormanian, 127. Armenian catechisms still give seven orders (exactly ours, clearly through Latin influence). See e.g. the *Instruction in the Christian Faith* (Occas. Paper of the Eastern Church Assoc. viii.; Rivingtons, 1869), p. 26. If I understand Ormanian rightly, these (except priesthood) are now only given to monks. The deacon who serves in the liturgy is in most cases a priest. There are a few Gregorian Armenian nunneries.

² Ormanian gives the total number of Armenian clergy as: married, four thousand; celibate, four hundred (*op. cit.* 130-131).

³ Occasional friendly relations are noted with surprise and delight. Michael the Syrian is very pleased that the Armenian Katholikos, Gregory IV (1173-1193), sent a profession of his Monophysite faith to the Jacobite Patriarch (ed. Chabot, ii. 492-500). On the other hand, Gregory III (1113-1166) cursed Jacobites roundly, and they cursed back.

⁴ The late Bishop of Salisbury (John Wordsworth) boasts that once an Armenian priest received Communion from the Archbishop of Canterbury (in Wigram: *Doctr. Position of the Assyrian Church*, p. 19). The fact is equally disgraceful to both parties; for the Archbishop had no business to give communion to a Monophysite, and the Armenian had no business to receive it from a Protestant.

⁵ At the crossing of the transept, if it has one.

with pictures ; but in the middle (where the royal doors would be) stands the altar.

On either side of the altar is a small door leading to a space behind, used as a sacristy. In front of the altar is a low Communion rail, then the choir, another low rail, the men's part, and the women's part at the back. Larger churches have a narthex.¹ The baptistery with the font generally forms a chapel on the south side. The altar looks like a very bad Latin altar. It has a retablo of three, four, or even five degrees, like steps, behind. In the middle above stands a cross (often in front of a picture). The *mensa* of the altar is a narrow shelf. All is covered with gaudy cloths and white altar-cloths with lace. Then they

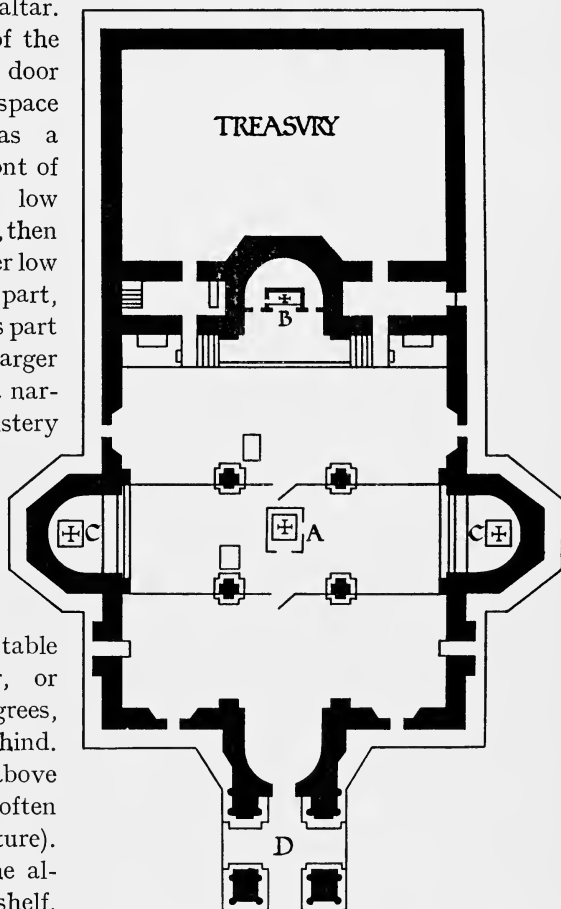


FIG. 16.—PLAN OF THE PATRIARCHAL CHURCH AT ETSHMIADZIN.

A, Main altar outside the Ikonostasion (where Christ struck the ground); B, Altar in the sanctuary; C, C, Side altars; D, Porch.

pile on their altar and retablo a very curious collection of objects. There are many candles, books showing their ornamental bind-

¹ Neale (*Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, Part i. Book ii. chap. 8), gives an account of "Armenian ecclesiology," not very accurate.

ings, the liturgical fans with bells (p. 441), relics, the chalice-veil, perhaps a huge mitre (p. 436). All these show their gilding and finery, so that one wonders where the celebrant can find room to celebrate.¹ The impression of the whole is like that of a Baroc Latin altar, but more full of bad ornament. Sometimes there is a tabernacle on the altar, but they do not make much of it (p. 440). Lamps and ostrich-eggs (p. 270) hang in front. They always have two rods with curtains before the altar, a small curtain near it, drawn during the celebrant's Communion, and a large curtain (hiding the whole sanctuary) drawn at other times in the liturgy, and kept always drawn throughout Lent.²

Armenian vestments are the usual Eastern ones, Latinized in some particulars. All ministers wear an amice (varkas), with a broad apparel which stands up and forms a high collar round the neck. This varkas is put on after, and worn above the tunic. Armenians will not admit that it is an amice at all; they compare it to our humeral veil.³ The deacon has a tunic (στοιχάριον, shapik) of any colour; it may be of silk or velvet.⁴ Over this comes the deacon's stole (urar) from the left shoulder, sometimes wound under the right arm. The priest has the amice, shapik, a girdle (goti), and his stole (porurar), which is a broad piece of stuff hanging down in front with a loop for the head (as p. 273). He wears the Byzantine epimanikia (bazpan). During the holy liturgy he wears a phainolion (shurtshar), now just like our cope without a hood. Since bishops adopted the Roman mitre every priest uses the Byzantine crown (saghavart)⁵ when he

¹ But a space is cleared for the holy liturgy.

² A few Byzantinized churches (including, oddly enough, Etshmiadzin) have an ikonostasion in front of the sanctuary. There is, normally, only one altar, with credence tables right and left. But some large churches have real side altars, used occasionally on feasts (Ormanian: *op. cit.* 125). Etshmiadzin has four (fig. 16, p. 433).

³ In modern times the deacon and clerks below him wear, as a substitute for the varkas and its apparel, a little cape down to the elbows. See the picture in Braun: *Liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1907), p. 93. Ormanian says this is contrary to rule (*op. cit.* p. 127).

⁴ Clerks below the deacon and singers wear the shapik and cape only, no epitrichelion.

⁵ This crown is often a very modest bonnet of silk with some gold braid. The deacon too wears it when he attends on a bishop (in Braun: *op. cit.* 93, the deacon wears a crown).

celebrates. In choir he has another cloak, the mandyas (called pilon).¹ A pectoral cross is often granted to simple priests and

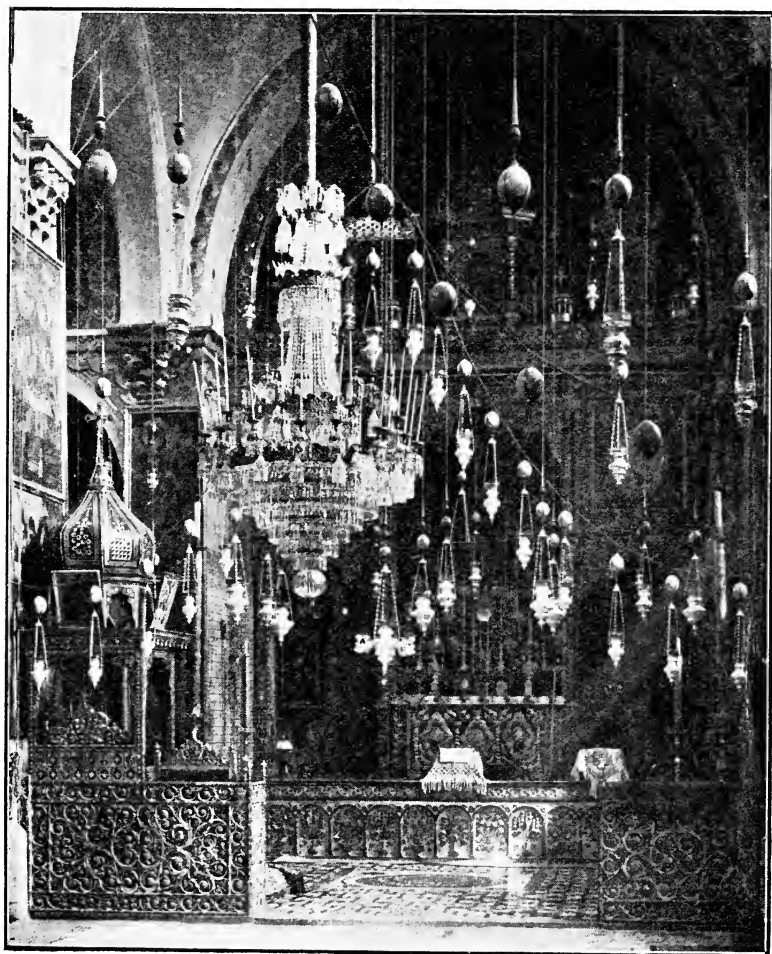


FIG. 17.—THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF ST. JAMES AT JERUSALEM.

vardapets. The bishop adds to a priest's vestments a large omophorion (emiphoron). Since the Latinizing days of Cilician

¹ *Uvar* is ὠράριον and *pilon* is φαιδόνιον (see p. 273, n. 3, for this spelling).

Armenia bishops have adopted the Latin mitre¹ and crozier and ring. Some bishops wear a *rationale* of metal attached to the amice, and worn on the breast.² The bishop also has a medal of our Lady holding our Lord, called panague (from *παναγία*, it is the Byzantine enkolpion). He holds a little hand-cross with which to bless. The Katholikos and some important bishops wear an epigonation³ (konker). At the Katholikos' consecration his head is covered with a great veil (kogh). This is carried before him in procession on great days. Vardapets wear priests' vestments and crown. The sign of their office, given to them at ordination, which they hold when they preach, is a staff (gavazan), which is exactly that of Byzantine bishops, with two entwined serpents looking towards a ball and cross. The vardapet with his crown and staff might easily be mistaken for a Byzantine bishop. If he is an aratshnord (p. 431) and administers a diocese, he has a bishop's (Latin) mitre and crozier.

Out of church the distinctive mark of the Armenian clergy is their black cap (pakegh). This is lower than the kamelaukion, and comes to a point at the top.⁴ All wear this, but only the celibate priests and higher clergy may cover it with a large black veil (veggar) which hangs down behind. Priests wear a cassock (generally black) and a black cloak with sleeves, called verarku. We have mentioned the mandyas (pilon). This, with the cap (pakegh), is the usual choir dress. Priests wear a black pilon; higher vardapets and bishops one of violet silk.⁵ Archbishops, Patriarchs and Katholikoi have a kind of heraldic emblem of their diocese on a rod. When they go in procession, incense the church, and so on, four standards are borne before

¹ Armenian mitres are colossal, higher and worse decorated than the worst 18th-century mitres in the West. There is later copying here. In the 12th century, when Leo II of Armenia was crowned (p. 389), certainly the Latin bishops he saw did not wear these portentous high mitres.

² Apparently only privileged bishops. For the *rationale* see J. Braun: *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 676-700.

³ *Orth. Eastern Church*, p. 406.

⁴ Its shape is just that of the towers which cover their church domes.

⁵ Armenian vestments are described by Tournebize (*op. cit.* 601, 603, etc.), Ormanian (127-132), and by J. Braun (*Die Liturg. Gewandung*), together with those of all rites, under each heading (see the priest—he is a vardapet—p. 235). A. J. Butler also describes them in his *Ancient Coptic Churches*, vol. ii. chaps. iv.-v.

them: a cross, this emblem, their crozier and vardapet's staff. While they celebrate servers stand around holding these.¹ Armenians have no liturgical colours, except black for funerals.

4. The Calendar, Books and Services

The Armenians have a national reckoning from Haik (B.C. 2492), and a disused ecclesiastical reckoning. They now all use the Julian Calendar, like the Orthodox. The salient fact in their year is that they have no Christmas,² or, rather, that they keep the memory of our Lord's birth with the other manifestations on the Epiphany (Hainuthiun, January 6). There is no great mystery about this. Christmas (December 25) is in origin a Western feast, which was not introduced into the East till the 4th century.³ Armenia is the one country where it was never introduced. Now this unique peculiarity has become a kind of national privilege of which Armenians are proud, whereas their opponents have sometimes counted it among their heresies. Both points



FIG. 18.—ARMENIAN BISHOP AND VARDAPET.

of view seem equally absurd. Most of their feasts are dated, not by a day of the month, but by a day of a week after a certain Sunday dependent on Easter, which greatly simplifies the calendar. They distinguish "Feasts of the Lord"⁴ (Epiphany, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost, falling-asleep of the Holy Theotókos on the nearest Sunday to August 15, Candlemas on February 14,⁵ Lady Day on April 7,⁶ the Birth of the Holy Virgin, her Presentation

¹ For the emblem of the late Katholikos see Lynch: *Armenia*, i. 252.

² This is unique among old Churches now.

³ Cf. Kellner: *Heortologie* (Freiburg, 1901), pp. 82-86.

⁴ In which those of the blessed Virgin are included.

⁵ Quite rightly; forty days after their Christmas-Epiphany.

⁶ The same idea; nine months before January 6.

on November 21, her Conception on December 9, two Holy Rood days, the memory of various apparitions of our Lord and feasts of the Church),¹ and saints' days, of which they have a great number, including many Armenian saints.² A good idea of the Armenian Church is special feasts in memory of the Councils of Nicæa (Saturday after the third Sunday after the Dormitio B.M.V.),³ Constantinople I (Saturday after Sexagesima), and Ephesus (Saturday after the fourth Sunday after Transfiguration).⁴ Their Lent (Karasnortk) lasts forty-eight days before Easter; the week after the tenth Sunday before Easter is a fast (called Aratshavoratz),⁵ also seven days before the Epiphany, Whitsunday, Transfiguration, Assumption, Exaltation of Holy Rood (Sunday between September 11 and 17), and before the first Sunday after Pentecost (the fast of Elias). Every Wednesday and Friday is a day of abstinence.⁶ Altogether they have 160 fast-days, and 117 abstinence-days in the year. The prayers on these days are of penitence and for the dead.⁷

All Armenian services are in classical Armenian. Except Amen, Alleluia, Orthi, Proschūmen, everything is in that language. "Kyrie eleison" becomes "Ter oghormia," which the people cry out incessantly. Their liturgical books (under Latin influence) are the clearest and best arranged of any among Eastern Churches. They have eight: (1) The Directory or Calendar (Donatsoitz), corresponding to the Byzantine Typikon; (2) Liturgy,⁸ containing

¹ See Ormanian: *op. cit.* 139-141.

² *Ib.* 143-149.

³ The Byzantine Calendar has this on Sunday after Ascension, the Jacobites on May 29, Copts on November 9.

⁴ Coptic, September 12. The idea of a feast in memory of a General Council is common in Eastern Churches. On the first Sunday of July the Byzantines keep "the holy fathers of the Six Œcumenic Synods." We could spare several of our feasts for such a memory as this.

⁵ The fast of Nineveh (*cf.* p. 287).

⁶ Except in the Epiphany octave and Paschal time.

⁷ More about the Calendar in Ormanian, pp. 136-149; Nilles: *Kalendarium manuale*, ii. 554-636. The present custom is to keep the strict fast (*dzuom*, no food at all from sunrise till 3 P.M.), only during the *aratshavoratz* and Lent. Other fast-days are only really days of abstinence (*bahkh*, which forbids flesh-meat, fish, lacticinia, wine and oil). But for this, too, moderating dispensations can be obtained. The actual vigil of a feast has a mild abstinence (*navagadikh*) which forbids only flesh-meat.

⁸ *Badarakamadoitz*, or *Korhrtadedv* (book of the oblation).

normally only the celebrant's part and sometimes the diakonika ; (3) Lectionary, with other parts said by the deacon and servers (Djashots) ;¹ (4) Book of Ordinations, often bound up with the Liturgy ; (5) Hymn-book (Dagharan), containing the hymns sung by the choir during the liturgy ; (6) Book of Hours (Jamakirkh), containing the Divine office² and often the diakonika of the Liturgy ; (7) Canticle-book (Sharagan), the hymns sung in the Office ; (8) Ritual (Mashdotz), containing baptism, other sacraments and sacramentals.³ Their Bible contains the Deuterocanonical books and some apocrypha.⁴

The Divine Office has the usual Byzantine hours and consists, as in all Eastern Churches, of psalms, hymns, lessons, prayers and litanies. The only part of it at which the laity usually assist is Vespers on Saturday evening and the eve of Feasts. I believe the office is said complete only by monks.⁵ A detail of Latin influence is that Armenians sing the Magnificat at Vespers.⁶ The administration of Sacraments follows the normal Eastern lines, with traces of Latinization. At Baptism the child is made to stand in the water of the font facing the East ; the priest pours water over its head thrice, saying : " N., servant of God, coming by his own will to the state of catechumen and thence to that of baptism, is now baptized by me in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." He confirms it at once, anointing it with chrism on each organ and on the hands, heart, back and feet, with suitable forms. The child receives Holy Communion at once. If possible, it is baptized immediately after the liturgy. In this case a little of the consecrated wine is kept ; the priest dips his finger in that and so puts a drop in the child's mouth. Otherwise

¹ Besides the Biblical lessons they have the *Aismavurkh* (Synaxarion) and *Djarrendir* (Homilies) used in the office.

² Very nearly a breviary. The Uniates have a complete breviary called *Jamagarkuthiun*.

³ Our *Rituale*. There are many editions of the Armenian service books, both Gregorian and Uniate. Gregorian editions are published at Etshmiadzin, Constantinople, Jerusalem. Dr. James Issaverdens has translated parts of the (Uniate) books under the title : *The Armenian Ritual* (3 parts), Venice : S. Lazzaro, 1873-1888.

⁴ Archdeacon Dowling gives a list : *op. cit.* 104-112.

⁵ A note about the Armenian Office will be found in Tournebize : *op. cit.* 636-637.

⁶ Its usual place in Eastern rites is in the Orthros.

he merely touches its lips with the reserved (intincted) form of bread. People are supposed to go to Communion (and Confession) five times a year—at the Epiphany, Easter, Falling-asleep of our Lady, Transfiguration and Exaltation of Holy Rood. Communion is administered to lay people by intinction. The priest puts the holy bread, dipped in the chalice, on their tongue, saying: "The body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ be to thee for salvation and for a guide to eternal life."¹ Whoever goes to Communion must be fasting since he went to bed the night before, and in a state of grace. Married priests live celibate for several days before celebrating. They reserve the Holy Eucharist (intincted) in a tabernacle either on the altar or behind it. A lamp burns before the tabernacle; but they do not show much other external reverence to the Real Presence. Ordination is giving by imposition of hands with long and very definite forms.² The ordained is anointed with chrism³ and receives his vestments from the ordainer. We have already noted that only a Katholikos may ordain bishops (p. 430), and that they have special ordinations for a Katholikos⁴ and vardapet (pp. 428, 431). Married people are crowned, as in the Byzantine rite. The anointing of the sick, though taught as a Sacrament in their books, is no longer practised by the Gregorians (p. 426). Instead, they have a service of prayers only.⁵ Only a Katholikos may bless the holy chrism (*meron*). This is done with great solemnity every three or four years; all the other bishops send for some of it.⁶ Like the Byzantine chrism, it contains a great quantity of ingredients.

¹ Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 452. Priests who assist receive either kind separately (the deacon receives as do the laity). They have no spoon for Communion.

² Quoted in Tournebize: *op. cit.* pp. 600 (priest), 605 (bishop), etc.

³ Only priests, bishops, katholikos.

⁴ Lynch describes the consecration of the late Katholikos, Mekertich Khrimean, which he saw at Etshmiadzin on October 8, 1893 (*Armenia*, i. 251-256). At the banquet which followed they had first to drink the health of the tyrant who persecutes them.

⁵ Descriptions of the Armenian rites for the Sacraments will be found in Tournebize: *op. cit.* 575-618; Issaverdens: *The Armenian Ritual* (iii. "The Ordinal," 1875; iv. "The Sacred Rites and Ceremonies," 1888); Dowling: *The Armenian Church*, 112-137.

⁶ As with the Orthodox, to apply for chrism to a Patriarch is a sign of recognizing his authority.

Some of the old chrism is put into the new. This is supposed to perpetuate the original holy oil blessed by our Lord himself, and brought to Armenia by the Apostles.¹ Armenians make holy water by dipping a cross or relic into water. They have a blessing of waters at the Epiphany, and many special ceremonies throughout the year. They are great at processions. They make the sign of the cross (alone among Easterns) in the Latin manner.

Their music is of the usual Eastern type, strange to us. They accompany their singing with little bells around the fans (*քիւրճիկ*, *kshotz*), no longer used for their original purpose, but held in church by servers, who shake them like a sistrum. They also clash cymbals (*dzndzgha*), and blow horns and wind instruments.²

An ancient Armenian abuse is the sacrifice of beasts (*madagh*). This was a constant reproach against them during the Middle Ages. A bull, cow, sheep, or fowl is brought to church in procession; a chapter of the Bible is read, salt is put in its mouth and it is killed, then divided as a feast. The bishops try to put down this piece of paganism, or to turn it into a mere feast.³

5. The Holy Liturgy

The Eucharistic service gives an exact picture of the history of the Armenian Church; for in all essential points it is simply the Byzantine rite in Armenian;⁴ it has some traces of Syrian influence and many notable Latin additions. It is not, of course, derived from Constantinople, but from Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where the Byzantine rite was first formed.⁵ The Armenians have three very remarkable peculiarities. First, alone among Eastern Churches, they have only one Liturgy and only one Anaphora.

¹ Ormanian says: "If the fact is not proved historically, people will agree nevertheless that it does not fail to be significant" (*op. cit.* 105), which is exactly right and very well expressed.

² The melodies are written out (made chromatic), by P. Bianchini: *Les chants liturgiques de l'Église arménienne* (Venice: S. Lazzaro, 1877).

³ For the *madagh* see Tournebize: *op. cit.* 588-593.

⁴ So that Brightman classes it simply as a variant of the Byzantine rite (*Eastern Liturgies*, p. xcvi).

⁵ See *The Mass* (Longmans, 1912), pp. 87-91. It is the older Byzantine Liturgy (St. Basil) to which we must look for the parallel.

As in the Latin Church, no alternative form is ever used.¹ Secondly, almost alone in the East,² they use unleavened bread. They believe this to be an original national custom. It is certainly a Latin infiltration. Thirdly, alone of all old Churches, they mix no water with the wine.³ The liturgy is celebrated on Sundays and feasts only, as a rule. At a solemn celebration by a high prelate there may be as many as six deacons.

The celebrant and ministers vest in the sacristy and wash their hands, saying psalms and prayers. Meanwhile the choir sings a hymn.⁴ They come to the sanctuary and say (Latinized) preparatory prayers, including the *Iudica* psalm (xliii.) and the *Confiteor*. The large curtain is closed and they prepare the bread and wine at the prothesis. Only one loaf is used. The offertory is made at this point; the gifts are covered. Meanwhile a (variable) hymn is sung. The curtain is drawn back, the celebrant incenses the altar and all the church. Here begins the Enarxis. A hymn is sung (generally the *Monogenes*); there are one or two prayers and another hymn. The Liturgy of the Catechumens begins with the Trisagion.⁵ Then the (chief) deacon chants a litany (synapte) of the usual Byzantine type with the answer, "Lord have mercy," to each clause. There are three lessons, a 'Prophet,'⁶ 'Apostle' and Gospel; before each is sung a verse (*προκείμενον*), the one before the Gospel consisting of Alleluia twice and a verse. The catechumens are not formally dismissed. At once, after the Gospel, begins the Liturgy of the Faithful with the Nicene Creed,⁷ said by the people; the celebrant

¹ Once they had other anaphoras, "of St. Gregory the Illuminator," "of St. Gregory of Nazianzos," "of St. Cyril of Alexandria," "of St. Sahak the Great" (p. 408). See Baumstark: *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Sammlung Kösel, 1906), p. 64. They have no liturgy of the Presanctified. On days of Lent (except Saturday and Sunday) there is no Eucharistic service at all.

² The Maronites are the only other Eastern Church which uses azyme.

³ This custom is said to have begun as a reaction against heretics (enkratites), who consecrated only water.

⁴ These hymns (*sharagan*), which occur repeatedly during the liturgy, are an Armenian speciality. They are supposed to come from Syria; many of them are certainly very beautiful. As a specimen see Brightman: *op. cit.* 412-414.

⁵ With the so-called Monophysite clause (which varies; see p. 191, n. 3).

⁶ Any Old Test. lesson.

⁷ Including the anathemas.

adds : " But we will glorify him who was before all worlds, by worshipping the Holy Trinity and one Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen." ¹ The Prayers of the Faithful follow in the usual litany form by the deacon. Not till now is a warning made that no " catechumens, men of little faith, penitents, or unclean," are to draw nigh. The Great Entrance comes here. The large curtain is drawn for a moment while the celebrant takes off his crown and mitre.² He remains at the altar to receive the gifts ; the deacon or deacons go to fetch them from the prothesis.³ Here occurs the strongest case of dramatic anticipation in any rite. The deacon says : " The body of the Lord and the blood of the Saviour lie before us." ⁴ The invisible powers sing unseen, and say with uninterrupted voice : Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts." The choir sings a variable hymn called the hagiology (srbasathsuthiun), one form of which is a version of the Greek Cherubikon, while the gifts are brought to the altar in solemn procession, with lights, incense and ringing kshotz (p. 441). They are placed on the altar and incensed. The celebrant washes his hands, saying the *Lavabo* verse. The kiss of peace comes here. They sing another and almost stronger example of anticipation (" Christ has been manifested among us. He who is God has seated himself here") ; the deacon warns that the doors be guarded, and the Anaphora begins, almost exactly as in the Byzantine rite (" Mercy and peace and a sacrifice of praise," but sung by the choir). The deacon says : " Lift up your minds with divine fear." The celebrant begins the Anaphora (silently) : " It is meet indeed and right . . ." ; he mentions the Seraphim

¹ A pretty legend ascribes these words to St. Gregory the Illuminator. He was old in 325, and had retired. His son Aristakes as Primate went to Nicæa. St. Gregory went to meet him on his return, and asked what the synod had defined. Aristakes repeated the Creed ; when he had heard it Gregory said these words.

² A bishop takes off mitre, omophorion, cross, ring, remaining in priest's vestments only.

³ This should be noted as an Armenian peculiarity.

⁴ This has naturally caused great scandal to other Christians. Brightman (p. 430) gives a milder translation : " are set forth." I prefer, as more authentic, that of a Gregorian Armenian priest, Asdvadzadourians (*op. cit.* p. 444), p. 65, which alone explains all that has been said about this text. Uniates say : " are about to lie before us."

and Cherubim aloud,¹ and the choir sings the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, exactly in our form. Soon after come the words of Institution,² Anamnesis and Epiklesis. There follows the great Intercession, with a long list of saints, mostly Armenian, and prayers for the dead. The deacon at the right of the altar takes up this, and to each clause the choir answers: "Remember, O Lord, and have mercy." Another synapte by the deacon follows, and the choir sings the Lord's Prayer. The celebrant says its introduction and embolism. There is then an elevation (the deacon says in Greek: "Proschumen"), with the form: "Unto the holiness of the holy," and a long blessing. The small curtain is closed and the celebrant makes the fraction in four parts, of which he dips three into the chalice. Before his Communion he kisses the Blessed Sacrament and says: "I confess and I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, who didst bear the sins of the world." He adds some Communion prayers and receives Communion under separate kinds (taking the particle not intincted). Meanwhile outside they sing a beautiful hymn with alleluias. The curtain is drawn back, the deacon, clergy and laity make their Communion. There follow last prayers and a synapte. Then comes an astonishing Romanism. The celebrant sings the last Gospel (St. John i. 1-14). He blesses the people. Psalm xxxiii. is sung, and they go back to the sacristy and unvest.³ Afterwards bread, blessed at the beginning (*neshkhar*), is distributed. On the eves of the Epiphany and Easter they celebrate the holy liturgy late in the afternoon.⁴

¹ Prayers said silently (*υστικῶς*) are *khorrhrdabar*; "aloud" (*ἐκφώνησις*) is *'i dsain*.

² The command to "Do this in memory of me" is not quoted explicitly. There is a little elevation before the epiklesis, at the words: "We offer unto thee of thine own, in all things, and for all things"—a Latin practice.

³ Throughout the liturgy the celebrant says prayers in a low voice, while the deacon and choir sing aloud. He ends these prayers with a last clause (*ἐκφώνησις*) aloud.

⁴ The Armenian liturgy has been translated many times. It is published in Armenian and English by the Vardapet Isaiah Asdvadzadourians (*Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia*, London, 1887), in English only by "two Armenian priests" (*The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia* (Cope and Fenwick, 1908). The best and most convenient version is in Brightman: *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 412-457.

I do not think it possible to share the natural enthusiasm of Armenians for their liturgy. It is late in type, and this mixture of foreign elements is not attractive to a liturgist. But it has the advantage of representing very well the character of their Church. Greek in essence, looking towards Syria, and much Latinized, if she is less attractive to a student from this mixture, she may through it be destined to act as a connecting-link between East and West, Greece and Syria. If Armenia could help to heal our lamentable breaches, the thanks of a united Christendom would bring her more honour than would a pure rite ; and her survival during so long a martyrdom would not have been in vain.¹

Summary

Of about four million Armenians about three-quarters belong to the Gregorian Church. This Church rejects Chalcedon and is Monophysite, though in a mild form. Otherwise it holds much the position of the Orthodox. Its head is the Supreme Katholikos-Patriarch at Etshmiadzin. Under him are Katholikoi at Sis and Aghthamar, Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, many archbishops and bishops. Vardapets are a higher rank of priests, specially ordained, who have privileges. They and all bishops must be celibate monks. There are about four hundred celibate and four thousand married ecclesiastics. The vestments are Byzantine, or rather Coptic-Jacobite, with notable Latin additions, such as the mitre. They do not keep Christmas as distinct from Epiphany. Three-quarters of their year are fast-days. Their liturgy is the Byzantine rite, with some Syrian and many Latin elements. It begins with our preparatory prayers and ends with our last gospel. They have only one anaphora. Their most notable liturgical practices are unleavened bread and an unmixed chalice.

¹ Indeed, I believe that the Gregorian Armenians are, on the whole, better disposed towards Catholics than any other separated Eastern Church.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HOPE OF REUNION

WE have now completed our account of all lesser-separated Eastern Churches. But a word must yet be added concerning the question which will most interest Catholics. What hope is there of reunion with these? First of all, we note that the idea of reunion with the "East," as if it were one body, is absurd. These Churches are divided among themselves; any one might return to Catholic unity without affecting the others. Indeed, reunion with one might even make greater difficulties for the others. If the Jacobites joined us, their hereditary opponents the Nestorians would probably see in that only a new reason for standing aloof. If the Orthodox came back, all these smaller Churches so dread Russia that they would be more frightened of us than ever. Certainly our chief hope, for many reasons, is the reunion of the Orthodox. Yet we must hope for the other Churches too.

At first sight it may seem that they are further off than the Orthodox, since they have each one more (and a great) heresy. But I doubt whether that obvious point is really important. For one thing, it is rather crude to estimate the error of a heretic mechanically by the number of dogmas in which he is wrong. In every case what matters most is the schism. If a heretic comes back to the Catholic Church he accepts her as one thing, he submits to all her teaching on the same basis, because she is the Church of Christ with whom her Lord is all days. The number of particular points he accepts is a minor matter. Then the hereditary heresies of these Churches do not really move

their members now. The ancient questions decided by Ephesus and Chalcedon are not the real issue. If they keep heretical formulas, refuse to acknowledge old councils, name heretics in their liturgies, it is because these things, like their hierarchies, languages, rites, are part of their Church, and their Church is their nation. Indeed, in some way they may be nearer to us than are the Orthodox. They went out so early that all that bitter later strife against the Papacy did not affect them.

That we have much to offer them, even from a lower point of view, is obvious. Reunion with the West would mean books, education, better training of their clergy, help and protection in many ways.¹ And there are better reasons for reunion than that. Why, then, do they refuse it? The one real reason is their national feeling. The Church is the nation, the only nation to those under the Turk. To this nation all cling with pathetic loyalty, all the more since they are ruled by a tyrant who is at once an infidel and a foreigner. They dread Latin advances as a threatened destruction of their nation. They conceive the Pope as a formidable monster who would make them all Latins. They think of the Uniates as merely a temporary compromise in his nefarious plans. He would, if he could, make all Eastern Christians Latins, swamp them in the mass of a vast foreign Church. Then the Copt would no longer be a Copt, the Armenian no longer an Armenian.

In spite of this, there is an element which makes for our cause, the growth of the Catholic ideal, as opposed to nationalism; namely, the increasing conviction that things are not right as they are, that what Christ founded was one visible united body of all his followers. They have this sense of a visible hierarchical Church already, each in his own body. Except in the case of a few (chiefly Armenians) who have read Protestant books, they have no idea of branch theories. If you tell a Jacobite that he, together with Nestorians, Orthodox, Papists and an indiscriminate collection of Protestant sects, is one Church, that the true faith of Christ is the greatest common measure of what all these believe, he will think, rightly, that you are talking nonsense. So

¹ I think no one who knows the Levant will dispute that the Uniate clergy are intellectually and morally above the others.

far each Eastern Church, logically, believes itself to be the one true Church ; its adversaries are schismatics,¹ all who deny its doctrine are heretics.² But with the growth of a wider consciousness of Christendom this position becomes impossible. One tiny minority existing in one district only cannot really go on in the comforting conviction that it alone is the whole Church of God on earth. So there must grow the consciousness of a really Catholic Church, of a vast union of faithful throughout the world, with which their fathers were once in union. Of course the Orthodox claim to be this one Church ; but they, too, in spite of their numbers, exist only locally. If there is anywhere one united, visible, universal body of the faithful of Christ, it can only be the Catholic body. Our hope is that the consciousness of the Catholic ideal will show the Easterns that once they were part of this body, that they are not now, that they could be again. Circumstances will moderate the national ideal³ and strengthen the Catholic ideal.

As for the national ideal, two considerations should cancel its danger. First, they may understand that nationalism and religion belong to different orders. They may hope for national independence, plot against the Turk, work for separate kingdoms. All that has nothing to do with the Church of Christ. His kingdom is not of this world. The Magyar and the Czech have the strongest possible national feeling ; but it does not affect their religion, nor prevent their union in that other kingdom which is not concerned with politics. And then, even in religion, the Uniates combine the national and Catholic ideals perfectly. A Uniate is a citizen of the universal Church, he shares her common life, as did his fathers before these unhappy schisms began. But

¹ They all set up bishops for the true faithful, in total disregard of rival hierarchies.

² That is, a Monophysite will not call other Monophysites either heretics or schismatics. An Armenian will admit Copts and Jacobites to be correct. But he thinks Nestorians heretics, and *vice versa*. All these smaller Churches think Catholics and Orthodox to be heretics and schismatics, all try, rather feebly, to make converts from other Churches.

³ Namely, their growing real national independence will make it less necessary to hold to ecclesiastical independence, and will diminish their ardent national patriotism. It is always the small, weak, persecuted nation which is most aggressively patriotic, in self-defence.

he is not swamped in a Latin crowd. He keeps his own customs, laws, hierarchy, rites. A Uniate Armenian has not become a Chaldee nor a Latin. We do not ask the separated Churches to be Latin, but to be Uniate. St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Gregory the Illuminator, were Uniates ; their children will lose nothing worth having by being so too. What we hope for them is the growth of Catholic consciousness, a righter understanding of the ideal of their Master, who founded, not separated national Churches, but one fold and one shepherd.

But we Catholics, while we hope for their return to the one fold, owe them, even as things are, in spite of their schism, a feeling of brotherhood. Even outside the fold they are still our Lord's sheep, the other sheep who, please God, will one day hear his voice and be brought back. In a land ruled by Moslems there is at bottom an essential solidarity between all Christians. These other Christians too are children of God, baptized as we are. Their venerable hierarchies descend unbroken from the old Eastern Fathers, who are our Fathers too. When they stand at their liturgies they adore the same sacred Presence which sanctifies our altars, in their Communion they receive the Gift that we receive. And at least for one thing we must envy them, for the glory of that martyr's crown they have worn for over a thousand years. We can never forget that. During all those dark centuries there was not a Copt nor a Jacobite, not a Nestorian nor an Armenian, who could not have bought relief, ease, comfort, by denying Christ and turning Turk. I can think of nothing else like it in the world. These poor forgotten rayahs in their pathetic schisms for thirteen hundred years of often ghastly persecution kept their loyalty to Christ. And still for his name they bear patiently a servile state and the hatred of their tyrants. Shall we call them heretics and schismatics ? They are martyrs and sons of martyrs. The long blood-stain which is their history must atone, more than atone, for their errors about Ephesus and Chalcedon. For who can doubt that when the end comes, when all men are judged, their glorious confession shall weigh heavier than their schism ? Who can doubt that those unknown thousands and tens of thousands will earn forgiveness for errors of which they were hardly conscious,

when they show the wounds they bore for Christ? When that day comes I think we shall see that in their imperfect Churches they were more Catholic than we now think. For there is a promise to which these Eastern Christians have more right than we who sit in comfort under tolerant governments: *Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo.*

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

Abys. = Abyssinia (Abyssinian)	Copt. = Coptic	Lit. = Liturgy
Ap. = Apostle	Ctple. = Constantinople	Mal. = Malabar
Ar. = Arabic	Emp. = Emperor	Mtr. = Metropolitan
Arm. = Armenia (Armenian)	Eth. = Ethiopia (Ethiopic)	Nest. = Nestorian
Bp. = Bishop	Jac. = Jacobite	Orth. = Orthodox
Cath. = Catholic	Kath. = Katholikos	Prot. = Protestant
Chr. = Christian	Kg. = King.	Ptr. = Patriarch
		Syn. = Synod
		Syr. = Syria (Syriac)

- ABA SALĀMA, title of Abys. Mtr., 295, 308
- Abbas, Shah of Persia (1586-1628), 390
- Abbasid Khalifs, 26, 92
- 'Abdu-lMasīḥ (Christodulos), Copt. Ptr. (1047-1077), 235-236, 334
- 'Abdu-lMasīḥ, Jac. Ptr. (1906), *see* Ignatius.
- 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdi-lMalik, Amīr of Egypt (7th century), 229
- 'Abdullah ibn Sa'd, Amīr of Egypt (7th century), 229
- 'Abdu-lHamid II, Turkish Sultan (1876-1908), 393
- Abgar Ukkama, Kg. of Edessa, 29-31, 397
- Abgar VIII, Kg. of Edessa (176-213), 32, 34
- Abgar IX, Kg. of Edessa (216), 23
- Abirad, Gregory, Kath. of Sis (1199), 389
- Abraham, Arm. Kath. (607-615), 413
- Abraham, Nest. Bp. (1903), 132
- Abraham or Abira, Jac. anti-Ptr. (9th century), 334
- Abraham, Malpan, Prot. Convert at Mal. (19th century), 370
- Abraham of Kashkar (†586), Syr. Monk, 111
- Abrahatu-lAshram, Abys. General (570), 298
- Abreha, Kg. of Abys. (4th century), 294-295
- Abū-Dakn, Copt. historian, 215
- Abu-ḥalīm, Nest. lit. book, 143
- Abuna, title of Abys. Mtr., 308-310; always a Copt. Monk, 296, 299
- Abū Sargah (St. Sergius), church at Cairo, 266
- Abu-sSaifain, *see* Mercurius
- Abyssinia—races, 307-308; same as Ethiopia, 307; dependence on Egypt, 296-297, 299-300, 310; attempted independence, 301-302, 309; Jac. bp. in Abys., 335
- Acacian schism (484-519), 195-199
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- Acacius (Aḩak), Kath. of the East (†495 or 496), 81
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 Agnoetai (Themistians), Copt. sect, 207
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 Akoimetai monks at Ctle., 198
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